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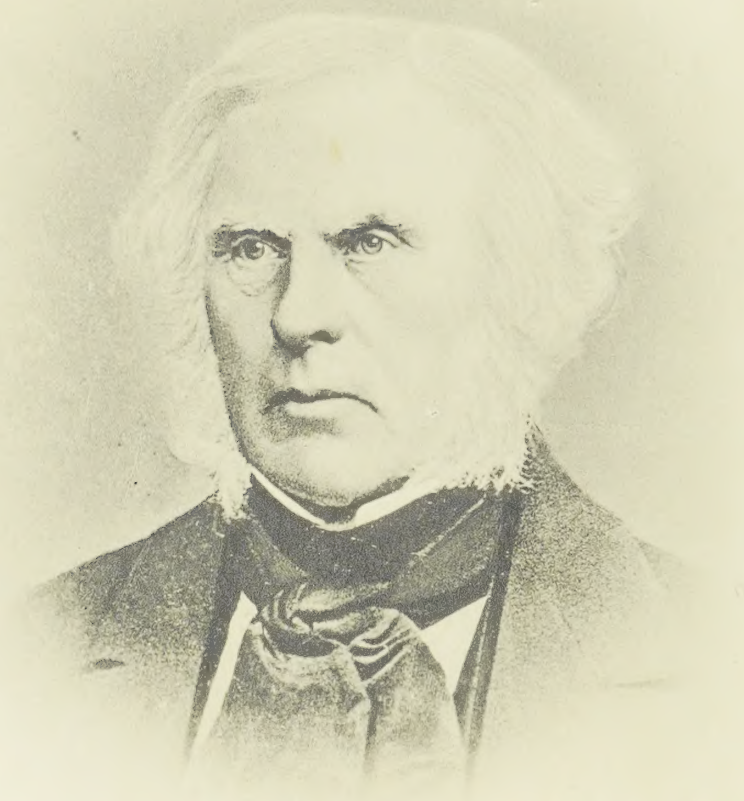
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THE PUBLICATIONS OF
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HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SERIES
IV



JOHN McLOUGHLIN

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THE
PUBLICATIONS OF
THE CHAMPLAIN
SOCIETY

McLOUGHLIN'S
FORT VANCOUVER LETTERS

FIRST SERIES, 1825-38

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THE LETTERS OF JOHN McLOUGHLIN

FROM FORT VANCOUVER
TO THE GOVERNOR AND
COMMITTEE

FIRST SERIES, 1825-38

EDITED BY

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FELLOW OF ST. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

W. KAYE LAMB, PH.D.

LIBRARIAN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

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Frontispiece: JOHN McLOUGHLIN

(Reproduced from a photograph in the possession
of the Oregon Historical Society)

PREFACE

JOHN McLoughlin's letters from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee open a new topic in the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, the story of the Company's activities on the Pacific coast during the nineteenth century.

The letters offer the most satisfactory conspectus of the many problems of this important and complex topic and they also throw on the screen John McLoughlin himself, in his official capacity as Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Columbia district. There is, however, one disadvantage in the letters; unlike the previous publications in this series, they are not a single document in themselves but are drawn from the numerous correspondence books of Fort Vancouver and from various other sources. Dr. Burt Brown Barker, of the University of Oregon, has already drawn our attention to one letter from McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee which was not to be found in the Company's archives (see p. 230). It is possible that there may be still further letters which have escaped our search, but this volume contains the complete text of every letter in the Company's possession which McLoughlin wrote to the Governor and Committee between the years 1825 and 1838. The text is in no sense a selection: it is the fullest textual exposition of one side of the Company's relations with McLoughlin and his district which the Company's archives afford. The appendix of supplementary documents is, necessarily, an incomplete selection of the more important documents which could be used to supplement the text. Here again, however, the letters chosen have been printed in full, without alteration or omission.

The year 1838, at which this volume ends, has no final significance. It provides a suitable break, brings McLoughlin to England on furlough, into personal touch with the Committee in London, and marks a period in his service. A second volume will continue the series of McLoughlin's letters, from 1838 to the end of his service in 1846. With one

exception, the second volume will introduce no important new aspect of the affairs of McLoughlin and the Columbia. The exception is McLoughlin's growing quarrel with Simpson, and his ultimate aversion from Simpson and from the Company which Simpson represented. Apart from that, McLoughlin's letters, by 1838, had already revealed all of his major problems. Already he had had to deal with hostile Indians, obstructive Russians and pioneering Americans, with the problems of agricultural settlement and of missionary enterprise, with the balance between exploitation and conservation of fur-bearing animals, with fever, shipping, timber and salmon. He had revealed, too, the problem of the growing intractability, strangely mixed with personal kindness, of his own temper; able though he was, he was neither easy to serve nor to employ.

In addition to the difficulties of production in war time, this volume has been produced under a great handicap in the unexpected death of Professor R. C. Clark, of the University of Oregon. Professor Clark had agreed to write the introduction to this volume, a task for which many years of research and his keen interest in the subject eminently fitted him. Since Dr. Clark's death robbed us of his knowledge, Dr. Burt Brown Barker has continued to show the interest of the University of Oregon in the publication of the Company's documents dealing with Oregon, and has placed at our disposal both his own knowledge and the valuable notes and transcripts which he and Professor Clark had together collected. This has greatly facilitated the task of Dr. W. Kaye Lamb and has done much to mitigate the difficulties under which war conditions have compelled him to work. The nett result is that the volume is, as far as contents and production are concerned, what it would have been if it had been produced in peace time: the only result of the war is that it is late in publication. But subscribers will note that the volume is still issued as the 1941 volume, as an indication that the Society intends to catch up with arrears at the earliest opportunity.

E. E. RICH

INTRODUCTION

I. THE COLUMBIA DISTRICT BEFORE 1825¹

i

THE figure of John McLoughlin has come to loom so large in the story of Old Oregon that its history before his arrival tends to be overlooked. This is unfortunate, for McLoughlin's activities were conditioned at first by his surroundings as he found them, and his actions and policy cannot be understood fully without some knowledge of this background.

The North West Company, of which McLoughlin had been a wintering partner, had sent Alexander Mackenzie across the Rocky Mountains and overland to the Pacific Ocean as early as 1793. It had built its first trading post west of the mountains in 1805. By comparison the much older Hudson's Bay Company was virtually a stranger in the land, for it had made little effort to compete with the North West Company there. Its only serious attempt to invade the region had been made in 1810-11 by a party led by Joseph Howse. In spite of an Indian war which placed his expedition in grave peril, Howse contrived to carry on a highly profitable trade and return across the mountains in safety; but he regarded the venture as having been too hazardous to be repeated. Soon after this Astor's Pacific Fur Company established itself at Astoria (later Fort George), at the mouth of the Columbia River, and subsequently extended its operations inland. But in 1813 this opposition was bought out by the North West Company, which thereafter enjoyed practically undisturbed possession of the vast interior region lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Coast Range, and extending from what is now southern Oregon to northern British Columbia.

In course of time two trading districts were organized in this area, New Caledonia in the north, and the Columbia in the south. New

¹ It is a pleasure to acknowledge the kindness of Mr. E. E. Rich and Miss A. M. Johnson in making material in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company available to me. In addition I am greatly indebted to Dr. Burt Brown Barker, of Portland, Oregon, and to Mr. Willard E. Ireland of Victoria, B.C., both of whom placed at my disposal extensive notes compiled from the papers in the Archives of the Company. These have in effect made it possible for me to consult innumerable documents, direct access to which could not have been secured, owing to war conditions.

Caledonia was regarded by the Hudson's Bay traders after 1815 as an extension of the rich Athabaska region, the great stronghold of the North West Company. They therefore urged that the Hudson's Bay Company should not rest content with challenging their rivals in Athabaska proper, but should extend the celebrated Athabaska campaign to New Caledonia as well. Some preparations were made to carry this proposal into effect, but nothing of importance had been accomplished before the coalition of 1821.

The Columbia was much less highly regarded than New Caledonia. It was known to be expensive to maintain, and its profits were said to be inconsiderable. Its size was perhaps its most impressive feature. Though the principal trading posts were all on or near the main stream, it can best be defined as consisting of the whole vast watershed of the Columbia River. It included the greater part of the present states of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, extended northward into what is now southern British Columbia, and eastward some distance into Montana, while to the south it crossed the boundary of Utah. To the north Fort Kamloops (often called Thompson River, as it was situated where the North and South Thompson rivers met) formed a connecting link with New Caledonia, from which several travel routes led eastward across the mountains. To the west the district had its single outlet to the Pacific at Fort George, at the mouth of the Columbia River.

It is curious to note that the last man who planned to extend the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company to the west of the mountains became the first Governor responsible for the administration of these former North West Company departments. George Simpson spent the winter of 1820-21 in Athabaska, directing the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company there. Following the coalition he was appointed Governor of the enlarged Northern Department, in which New Caledonia and the Columbia were included. Simpson's task was to organize an efficient monopoly out of the personnel, posts, trading methods and transport systems of the two old companies. The most pressing problem was the elimination of duplicate services. Over a large area one company had deliberately paralleled the organization of the other. Competing trading posts frequently stood almost side by side. One is reminded of the analogous problem which faced the managers of the Canadian National Railways in almost the same terrain a century later. Their task was to unite two railways serving much territory in common. Like them, Simpson often found himself with "two of everything" where only one was required.

Simpson set about his work with tireless energy. As soon as possible

after his appointment he set out upon what was to be the first of a series of far-flung inspection trips. Post after post and trader after trader came under his critical, and at times ruthless, scrutiny. One example will serve to illustrate the sweeping nature of the changes he was soon contemplating. The wages payable to servants in the Northern Department in 1821-22 totalled approximately £60,000. By December, 1821, Simpson had come to the conclusion that in the ensuing year £15,000 might be "lopped off . . . without the smallest embarrassment to our affairs for which purpose it will be necessary to discharge at least two hundred and fifty men next season".¹ But, interested as he was in immediate economies, Simpson was also working toward long-term policies. Before the coalition the intense competition between the companies had led to close trapping, and certain trading districts were nearly exhausted. Simpson closed posts and discouraged trade within such areas, in order to give them a chance to recruit. He became an ardent conservationist, and this fact had an important influence on his trading policies both east and west of the Rocky Mountains. In the words of Professor Innis, "Simpson hoped to develop the policy of recruiting the districts to the point where furs could be sent out at a year's notice, depending on the state of the market for particular varieties. He proposed to manage the country as a 'well regulated and highly cultivated Estate,' and to concentrate on smaller furs such as marten and muskrat to recruit the beaver regions."²

The need for reorganization was naturally greatest where competition had been most intense. Several years passed before Simpson could find time to investigate personally the remote districts west of the Rocky Mountains where the North West Company had enjoyed sole possession. But his papers show that in the interval he seized every opportunity to secure information, and that he gave their problems both frequent and careful attention.

In London the Governor and Committee were equally watchful, especially regarding the broader and international aspects of the Company's activities. One important question was settled to their satisfaction before the end of 1821. Following the coalition, the Hudson's Bay Company found itself possessed of trading posts situated far beyond the lands over which it enjoyed exclusive trading rights with the Indians,

¹ See H[udson's] B[ay Company] S[eries], III, R. Harvey Fleming (ed.), *Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31* (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1940, and London, The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1940), p. 3n.

² *Ibid.*, p. xxxvii.

under the terms of the famous charter of 1670. An extension of its privileges to coincide with this expansion was obviously much to be desired. Fortunately for the Company, the coalition had brought to its support the powerful political influence of Edward Ellice, M.P., one of the London representatives of the North West Company. The British Government was aware of the disruption and violence to which competition between fur traders had given rise in recent years, and Ellice seems to have had no great difficulty in winning his case for the Company. On July 2, 1821, assent was given to *An Act for regulating the Fur Trade* (1 & 2 Geo. IV. c. 66), which empowered the Government to issue licences of exclusive trade with the Indians in all lands beyond the limits of the existing privileges of the Hudson's Bay Company, but not in the Canadian provinces. The statute was drawn in general terms, but its purpose was specific. On December 5, a Royal Licence gave to the Company,¹ for a period of twenty-one years, exclusive trading rights in the whole of the lands indicated. Except for the Canadian provinces, its monopoly thus became co-extensive with British sovereignty "to the Northward and to the Westward . . . of the United States".²

A further circumstance, dating from pre-coalition days, must be noted. In 1818 Great Britain and the United States had agreed that across the prairie region, and as far west as the Rocky Mountains, the 49th parallel should form the boundary between their territories. North of that line, and westward to the mountains, the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly was thus made absolute by the Royal Licence of December, 1821. But west of the mountains the situation was more complicated. New Caledonia and the Columbia lay in an area which was not only bounded on the north by the indeterminate claims of Russia, but was itself in dispute between Great Britain and the United States. A joint-occupation convention signed by the two countries in 1818 had provided for a ten-year truce, during which the whole territory was to be open to the subjects of both powers. In keeping with this agreement, a special clause was inserted in the *Act* of July 2, 1821, governing grants and licences for trade "to the Westward of the *Stony Mountains*". No such grant or

¹ Actually to the Company and to William McGillivray, Simon McGillivray, and Edward Ellice, who represented the North West Company interests in the coalition. See *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company* (London, 1857), pp. 425-7, and Chester Martin, *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada* (Oxford, 1916), pp. 218-22.

² See *Charters, Statutes, Orders in Council, &c. Relating to the Hudson's Bay Company* (London, Hudson's Bay Company, 1931), for the complete text of the various statutes, licences, etc.

licence was to be "deemed or construed" as giving any trading rights "to the Prejudice or Exclusion of any Citizens of the said United States". West of the Rocky Mountains the Hudson's Bay Company thus enjoyed only exclusive *British* rights of trade; it had no authority to exclude the traders of other nations.

ii

In August, 1821, the Council of the Northern Department appointed four commissioned gentlemen to the Columbia. Three of the four, Chief Factors John Haldane and John Dugald Cameron, and Chief Trader James McMillan, were former partners of the North West Company. Chief Trader John Lee Lewes had always been in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Owing to its bad reputation the future of the Columbia was definitely in doubt, and the four men may have been chosen with this in mind. Both Haldane and McMillan were well acquainted with the district, as they had served there previously. Cameron was known to be a clever Indian trader. Lewes was well known to Simpson, and could report to him confidentially. To make doubly sure that he would secure the facts of the matter, Simpson took the additional precaution of selecting the clerk who was to keep the books at Fort George. "We possess little information about the Columbia", Simpson wrote to Andrew Colville on September 8, 1821, "I have therefore sent Archd. McDonald thither in the capacity of accountant and requested him to give a full and accurate report of it which will be transmitted to the Committee."¹

For a year or more the fate of the Columbia hung in the balance. Most of the important letters concerning it were written to or by Simpson, and the ebb and flow of opinion upon the district may be traced in his correspondence.

The earliest important entry is the frequently quoted paragraph in the letter from the Governor and Committee to Simpson, dated February 27, 1822: "We understand that hitherto the trade of the Columbia has not been profitable, and from all that we have learnt on the Subject we are not sanguine in our expectations of being able to make it so in future.

¹ *H.B.S.*, III, p. 399. Lewes and McDonald were entrusted with the important task of taking the inventory of goods and properties in the district which were to be transferred by the North West Company to the Hudson's Bay Company. See [*Hudson's Bay Company Archives*] D. 4/1, fo. 3, Simpson to Lewes, August 9, 1821; *ibid.*, fo. 3-3d., Simpson to McDonald, August 9, 1821. Subsequent classification numbers refer to the Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

But if by any improved arrangement the loss can be reduced to a small sum, it is worth a serious consideration, whether it may not be good policy to hold possession of that country, with a view of protecting the more valuable districts to the North of it ; and we wish you to direct the attention of the Council to this subject and collect all the information which you can obtain from individuals acquainted with the Country.”¹

Simpson received this letter at Norway House late in June. Shortly before he must also have received a packet of reports from the Columbia. Several of these expatiated upon the inefficiency of the old North West regime in the region, and the state to which it had brought the district. Even Chief Factor Cameron, formerly of the North West Company, was severe in his comments, especially upon the inventory of Fort George. We know from other sources that the heavy stock of goods on hand included such incongruous items as ostrich plumes and coats of mail, and Cameron remarks upon the many “very expensive” articles, “very useless . . . in this Country” which “must remain a dead loss on the Company’s hands.”² Chief Trader Lewes is not surprised that the Columbia “has been but a losing Concern to the N.W. Company . . . for it is immense the money these people have hitherto spent for little or nothing”. Nevertheless he is optimistic about the future. Trade at the interior posts “has this year far exceeded any thing hitherto”, and he hopes “by our urgent exertions, that the ensuing year will be still more favourable”. As for possibilities of expansion in trade, Lewes points out that “Immense tracks of Land to the North of Fort George remain still unexplored, abounding as I am giving to understand with Beaver,” and he also directs Simpson’s attention to the Snake River country.³

With these and other reports before him, Simpson presided at the Council which met at York Factory in July, 1822. No formal resolution regarding the future of the Columbia was passed, but the matter was carefully discussed. In August Simpson informed Governor Williams and the Council of the Southern Department that his own Council, “in compliance with the suggestions of the Committee, and in consequence of a very considerable augmentation, in the last year’s Returns of that Department, combined with considerations of policy and self preservation, recommended the propriety of its being kept up, by way of barrier and check to Intruders, even admitting it should afford no profit.”⁴ To

¹ *H.B.S.*, III, p. 302.

² D. 4/116, fo. 92. Cameron to Simpson, April 5, 1822.

³ Frederick Merk (ed.), *Fur Trade and Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pp. 176-7. Lewes to Simpson, April 2, 1822.

⁴ *H.B.S.*, III, p. 415.

the Governor and Committee Simpson wrote that "it might be premature to relinquish" the trade of the Columbia.¹ He had consulted Chief Factor Haldane, who had attended Council, and "he as also every Gentleman conversant with the affairs of that Country are of opinion that it would not be politic to withdraw from that Country as if it does not realize profits no loss is likely to be incurred thereby and it serves to check opposition from the Americans."²

These excerpts are most significant, for they show clearly that as early as 1822 the Governor and Committee and Simpson were all thinking of the Columbia primarily as a defence against competition. They hoped that the district could be made a buffer area, which would repel or absorb the attacks of rival traders, who might otherwise penetrate to the riches of the interior.

That the Governor and Committee should take this view was not surprising, for both the Russians and the Americans were known to be planning to occupy the Pacific Coast. In 1821 the Russian Government had issued a ukase claiming the whole coastal region from Bering Strait to the 51st parallel, or as far south as Queen Charlotte Sound. No doubt the Hudson's Bay Company was aware that some fifteen years previously the Russian American Company had planned to establish posts at several strategic points, including Nootka Sound and the mouth of the Columbia River, and to take possession of the entire coast from Alaska to California.³ In 1812 Fort Ross had actually been built on Bodega Bay, some distance north of San Francisco. The 1821 edict might well be preparing the way for a revival of this scheme. As for the United States, American trading vessels had long been active on the coast, and reports had reached London that a bill was "in progress in the House of Representatives for settling the Columbia and forming it into a State of the Union."⁴

Thanks to the good relations established by Edward Ellice, the Hudson's Bay Company was in close touch with the Colonial Office and the Foreign Office; and in March, 1822, the Company drew to the attention of the British Government "these proceedings of the Russian and American Governments, the effect of which would be to exclude British subjects from the northwest coast of America, and a valuable

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

² *Ibid.*, p. 341.

³ See *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, C. L. Andrews, "Russian Plans for American Dominion", pp. 83-92.

⁴ *Alaska Boundary Tribunal, Appendix to the Case of the United States* (Washington, 1904), pp. 106-7, Pelly to Londonderry, March 27, 1822.

trade in the interior.”¹ In September a second letter was sent to the Hon. George Canning, Foreign Secretary, in which the Deputy Governor expressed his confidence that the Government would “take the proper measures for protecting the interests of this Company and of the British fur trade in that quarter of the world.”²

To the satisfaction of the Company, both the British and American governments soon made it clear that they would not admit the Russian claims. Meanwhile the Governor and Committee had taken preliminary steps on their own account. In February, 1822, they advised Simpson “to extend our trading posts as far to the West and North from Frazer’s River in [New] Caledonia, as may be practicable, if there appears any reasonable prospect of doing so profitably.” They added that it was “desirable to keep the Russians at a distance”³; and the means suggested was a more direct move towards this end than may at first appear. It is true that the Russians had never penetrated very far inland; but many of the furs they secured originated in the interior and reached the coast through inter-tribal trading. The proposed advance from New Caledonia would intercept many of these furs at their source, and divert them to the posts of the Hudson’s Bay Company. Efforts to carry this plan into effect suffered many delays and setbacks, but the Company clung to it tenaciously for several decades.

In addition to advancing in the interior, the Governor and Committee were considering the practicability of entering the coastal trade—a move which had a double attraction, since it could be aimed equally at the Russians and at the Americans. This is evident from the letter addressed to Chief Factors Haldane and Cameron on September 4, 1822, in which the Committee asks for a series of exhaustive reports on the Columbia and its future possibilities. To start with, full details of the trade are requested, “it being absolutely necessary that we should possess every information relative to the productions of the Country . . .” Next, the Chief Factors are asked whether they “consider that a Vessell can be beneficially employed on the Coast, in collecting Furs, and procuring provisions . . .” They are to report in detail upon all Russian activities; “to ascertain the number and tonnage of the Russian Vessells that have appeared on the North West coast in the neighbourhood of the Columbia; [and] whether the Russians have made any fixed establishments. . .” Finally, as regards the Americans, the Governor and Committee refer

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

² *Ibid.*, p. 110, Pelly to Canning, September 25, 1822.

³ *H.B.S.*, III, p. 303.

to the proposed settlement on the Columbia, and to a rumour that 180 persons have left the Missouri to cross the Rocky Mountains, and ask for "every information" about any steps taken to carry either plan into effect. The letter concludes: "...we depend on your strenuous exertions to secure the Fur trade to Great Britain by your liberality to and kind treatment of the Natives."¹

From the tone of this letter it is obvious that the Governor and Committee had no intention of abandoning the Columbia in the near future; and it is equally obvious that the international aspects of the question exercised a determining influence upon their decision. They were not willing to abandon the whole coast region to the Russians and Americans, and to leave the Columbia River gateway to the interior undefended. "We think it desirable to continue the trading establishment there for the present," they wrote to Simpson in March, 1823, "tho' it may not be very profitable, and we shall be able to form a more correct opinion upon this subject in a year or two."²

iii

For the next year or more interest centred upon the discussions regarding the Pacific Coast which were in progress between the British, Russian, and American governments. Great Britain, like the United States, was endeavouring to persuade Russia to abandon her claims to the western coast of North America as far south as 51 degrees. In addition, negotiations over the boundary west of the mountains in the Oregon country, had been opened between Great Britain and the United States.

Until these discussions ended, or at least until their results could be forecast with reasonable accuracy, the Hudson's Bay Company could do little except gather information and consider tentative plans for future activities in the Columbia and on the Pacific Coast. Chief Factor John Haldane had arrived in England on furlough in November, 1822,³ and the Columbia requisition and other matters were discussed with him during the following spring.⁴ No opportunity of securing information that might prove useful was overlooked. In November, 1823, for example, a copy of Harmon's *Journal* was forwarded to the Chief Factors of the Columbia with the following request from William Smith,

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 334-6.

² D. 5/1, fo. 58d.

³ A. 1/53, fo. 58d.

⁴ A. 5/7, fos. 84, 88-88d., 91. Smith to Haldane, April 4, April 24, and May 13, 1823.

Secretary to the Governor and Committee: "I am to request you will inform me, how far the Country laid down in the Map of the latter work is correct, and any information you can afford on the Geographical position of the Country will be gratifying, as it is a desirable object to fill up on the Map the position of the Rivers, Establishments &c. on the West side of the Mountain as speedily as possible."¹

Like the Governor and Committee, Simpson and the Council could do little about the Columbia except mark time, until its status was clarified. Nevertheless a few developments of some importance took place. For one thing, steps were taken to check the frequent changes in personnel which had made for inefficiency in the district. Haldane had been succeeded in 1822 by Chief Factor Alexander Kennedy, and both Kennedy and Chief Factor Cameron, who had served in the Columbia since 1821, were reappointed in July, 1823. Similarly, the Chief Traders assigned to the Columbia were encouraged to remain for at least two years, and in many instances for three years or more.

The most interesting appointment in 1823 was that of Peter Skene Ogden, who was sent to Spokane House as a clerk. While with the North West Company, Ogden had opposed the Hudson's Bay Company with such bitterness that, in spite of his ability, the Company had declined to allow him to enter its service, following the coalition. A similar fate had befallen Samuel Black, whom Simpson and others had not hesitated to call a villain and a murderer. Nevertheless Simpson later intervened on their behalf; and in March, 1823, the Governor and Committee not only resolved "to admit Mr. Black and Mr. Ogden into the Service of the Company", but suggested to the Council of the Northern Department that they "should be admitted Chief Traders from the 1st June, 1821, as if they had been parties to the original arrangement. . . ."² The Council duly recommended that they be admitted as Chief Traders, and their commissions were sealed in London on March 3, 1824.³

Black did not arrive in the Columbia until 1825, but Ogden was accompanied across the mountains in 1823 by a fellow clerk, John Work. Ogden, Work, and James Douglas became in later years the most prominent of all John McLoughlin's subordinates. It will be noted that two of the three arrived in the Columbia before him; and Simpson's success

¹ A. 6/20, fo. 124d.

² A. 1/53, fo. 84. This course was made possible by Simon McGillivray and Edward Ellice, who for the purpose assigned two of the shares which they had received under the Deed Poll of 1821.

³ A. 1/54, fo. 27.

in checking the changes in personnel which had been a bane of the district is indicated by the fact that Odgen, Work, and Douglas all spent the rest of their long lives on the west side of the Rocky Mountains.

Within the Columbia itself, the most significant development at this time was the increased importance attached to the Snake country. For some years before the coalition the North West Company had sent out trapping parties—the first of the celebrated Snake River expeditions. Then, as later, although their primary destination was the valley of the Snake, these parties roamed far and wide over the country south and east of the Columbia River. Under the leadership of Donald McKenzie they were highly profitable; but after 1821 McKenzie remained east of the mountains, and none of the commissioned gentlemen assigned to the Columbia saw fit to take charge of the party in his stead. As a result, the expedition seems to have deteriorated until it consisted of nothing more than a leaderless group of freemen, Iroquois, and Indians, most of whom had been outfitted on credit by the Company, and who in return had agreed to turn over any furs they might trap or trade. At this point the matter came to the attention of Chief Factor Kennedy, who was appointed to the Columbia in 1822, and instructed to take charge of Spokane House, the post from which the Snake parties were outfitted. Kennedy soon discovered that the Snake country, in spite of neglect, was, in his own words, “the Source from which we draw the Major part of our Returns”, and he proceeded to give it more careful attention. He reported that the freemen were “so indolent and careless, that often after they have been at the trouble of procuring Furs at the risk of their Lives, they are too lazy to come in with them and the Consequence is that their Furs are either lost or damaged before they reach this place.”¹ Better leadership was the obvious need. Sensing this, the Council had authorized him to engage one Michel Bourdeau “in the capacity of a Conductor of Trappers”;² but Kennedy felt it necessary to go beyond these instructions. In the spring of 1823 he sent Finan McDonald, a clerk, and five engaged men, as well as Bourdeau, with the freemen then leaving for the Snake country.³ The expedition fared badly, for six of its number, including Bourdeau, were killed by the Blackfeet, and many of its horses were stolen; but in spite of these misfortunes, it returned in the fall with over 4,000 beaver.⁴

Simpson was convinced that the Snake country had great possibilities, and was anxious to exploit them, even while the boundary discussions

¹ Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 193.

² *H.B.S.*, III, 24.

³ Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 194.

⁴ *H.B.S.*, III, 24n, 53n.

were in progress. Thus in June, 1823, he remarked in a letter to the Governor and Committee: "That neglected but rich part of the country is likely to come under the consideration of the Council this season and 'tis probable some encouragement will be given to prosecute the trade in that quarter."¹ In July the Council appointed Peter Skene Ogden to Spokane House, and instructed him "to fit out a Trapping expedition next spring for the Snake country . . . under the direction of Alexr. Ross Clerk."² Ross and his expedition duly set out in February, 1824, and returned in the autumn with over 4,900 beaver.³

All this time the discussions between the British, American, and Russian governments regarding their claims in western America had continued. No conclusions had been reached, but it seems clear that the Hudson's Bay Company, which was in close touch with the British Government, was in a position to forecast the outcome with some accuracy by the early months of 1824. Thus in March the Governor and Committee wrote to Simpson: "We observe that your attention is directed to the Columbia, we think the trade should be extended in the Snake Country, and also along the Coast to the Northward."⁴ A moment's reflection will show that this programme could be carried out only if Russia modified her claims to the Coast, and if the United States refused to accept the boundary line which Great Britain was prepared to offer—the Columbia River. Within a few months both conditions had been fulfilled. In April Russia and the United States agreed that the Portland Canal, in 54° 40' north latitude, should mark the southern limit of Russian claims on the coast. It seemed safe to assume that a parallel agreement with Great Britain would follow. In July the boundary negotiations between the United States and Great Britain came to a standstill.

The Hudson's Bay Company acted promptly to take advantage of these circumstances. The brig *William and Ann* was purchased and prepared for sea some months before the annual supply ship normally sailed for the Columbia, and the dispatches she carried foreshadowed important developments of policy in that region. It is clear that the Governor and Committee continued to think of the Columbia primarily as a barrier which would keep intruders out of the Interior; but their instructions to the Chief Factors in charge indicate that they had come to the conclusion that this end might be achieved more effectively, and

¹ Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 195.

² *H.B.S.*, III, 53.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 208.

perhaps more profitably, by offensive than by defensive measures. Thus it was their wish that as soon as possible after her arrival the *William and Ann* should be sent on a cruise to the northward, to examine the Portland Canal, ascertain what harbours lay between it and the Columbia River, and in general explore the trading possibilities of the coast. In the second place, in the expectation that negotiations would be resumed shortly with the United States, steps were to be taken to strengthen the Company's position on the Columbia River, the prospective boundary. In particular, Fort George (Astoria) was to be abandoned, both because the post itself had been formally restored to the Americans in 1818, and could therefore be occupied by them at any time, and because it was situated on the south bank of the Columbia, in what was expected to become United States territory. The Governor and Committee ordered the immediate construction of a new post on the north side of the river, explaining that "in the present day occupying the soil is considered as the best title; it is therefore of great consequence that we should have buildings of our own, and those built before the Americans take possession." Finally, they suggested that the Snake River region, far to the south of the Columbia, should be exploited promptly, while it remained open to British traders: "... as we cannot expect to have a more Southern boundary than the Columbia in any Treaty with the Americans ... it will be very desirable that the hunters should get as much out of the Snake Country as possible for the next few years."¹

While this dispatch was being written in London, late in July, 1824, Simpson was at York Factory, preparing to leave for the Columbia, where he proposed to spend the ensuing winter. Earlier in the month the Council of the Northern Department had met and appointed Chief Factors Alexander Kennedy and John McLoughlin to the district. The Council had directed further that Kennedy was to travel eastward in the spring of 1825, leaving McLoughlin in charge.

Simpson had prepared for his visit by careful investigation and discussion of the Columbia and its problems. He had spent the previous winter in Red River with Chief Factor Donald McKenzie, whose service in the Snake country for the North West Company has already been noted. Tentative conclusions as to what changes were desirable west of the mountains were emerging in his mind, but the question involved several imponderables. The commissioned gentlemen were not enthusiastic. "Our Council know little about that Country", Simpson wrote to the Governor and Committee, "having confined their

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

attention to the mere trafficking with Indians and not taking an enlarged view of its affairs either in regard to political or commercial prospects . . . and I believe they would gladly throw up all interest in the trade . . . if left to themselves." Even Simpson himself was not prepared, because of the Company's "uncertain tenure of the Columbia" to "recommend any experiment or deviation from the established course that would involve expence". But he did hazard the opinion that a successful post might be established at the mouth of the Fraser River, and that if a small vessel were made available "a profitable coasting trade might be carried on".¹ He had asked sometime previously that the annual supply ship should be instructed to make a survey of the coast for some distance north of the Columbia River; and it was partly in response to this request that the *William and Ann* had been dispatched earlier than usual.

Six days after Simpson put these thoughts on paper for the benefit of the Governor and Committee he set out upon the long journey overland from York Factory to the Pacific Coast.

iv

Chief Factor John McLoughlin had left for the Columbia on July 27, three weeks before Simpson, but to the Governor's amusement and satisfaction he overtook McLoughlin late in September. Simpson recorded their meeting in his journal as follows: "On the 26th at 7 O'Clock A.M. came up with the Dr before his people had left their Encampment altho we had by that early hour come from his Breakfasting place of the preceding Day; himself and people were heartily tired of the Voyage and his Surprise and vexation at being overtaken in Riviere la Biche notwithstanding his having a 20 Days start of us from York is not to be described; he was such a figure as I should not like to meet in a dark Night in one of the bye lanes in the neighbourhood of London, dressed in Clothes that had once been fashionable, but now covered with a thousand patches of different Colors, his beard would do honor to the chin of a Grizzly Bear, his face and hands evidently Shewing that he had not lost much time at his Toilette, loaded with Arms and his own herculean dimensions forming a tout ensemble that would convey a good idea of the high way men of former Days."²

The meeting took place near the Athabaska River, and from that point Simpson and McLoughlin travelled westward together. In spite

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-5. Simpson to Colville, August 9, 1824.

² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

of breaks in their journey at Spokane House, Okanogan, and Fort Nez Percés, they reached Fort George on November 8. For the next four months the Governor and Chief Factor were almost continuously in one another's company, and every aspect of the trade of the Columbia District had been discussed and considered at length before Simpson left on his return journey to Hudson Bay in March, 1825.

In addition to McLoughlin, we know that Simpson talked with Chief Factor Kennedy, Chief Trader James McMillan (who had accompanied him from York Factory), Peter Skene Ogden, John Work, and many others. We know further that he was an accomplished picker of brains. Yet it seems clear that he made up his mind about the Columbia independently. Indeed, to a surprising extent his visit merely served to confirm conclusions regarding it which he had already reached tentatively.

Although Simpson's journal has been published complete,¹ his impressions and decisions exercised so great an influence on McLoughlin's administration that they must be summarized here. In most instances the story can be told in his own graphic words.

To begin with, he was horrified by the extravagance, inefficiency, and lack of enterprise which characterized the management of the district. Even before he reached Fort George he had been struck by the prodigal use of imported supplies, and had noted in his journal that ever since its establishment the Columbia had "shown an extraordinary predilection for European Provisions without once looking at or considering the enormous price it costs. . . ." ² A few days later he summed up the general state of affairs in the cutting sentence: "Everything appears to me on the Columbia on too extended a scale *except the Trade*. . . ." ³ The Company's traders had made no effort to learn anything about the Coast, and Simpson considered their ignorance "a disgrace to the whole concern".⁴ He found that the Snake River expedition, which seemed to him so full of possibilities, had "hitherto been considered a forlorn hope", and as its management was regarded as being "the most hazardous and disagreeable office in the Indian Country", none of the commissioned gentlemen would undertake it.⁵

But, in spite of its chaotic state, the Columbia contrived to capture Simpson's imagination. Relatively early in his visit he became convinced that the trade of the coast and interior was "unquestionably worth contending for. . . ." The prospect of international competition worried him not at all. Given any support by the British Government,

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-174.

² *Ibid.*, p. 47.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

he considered that there was no need to fear either the Americans or "the sweeping and absurd Ukase of the Russian Government".¹ Later still his enthusiasm for the Columbia became such that he felt it necessary to remark upon it in his journal: "I can scarcely account for the extraordinary interest I have taken in its affairs, the subject engrosses my attention almost to the exclusion of every other, in fact the business of this side [of the mountains] has become my hobby. . . ." He regretted that he could not spend twelve or eighteen months in the country, reorganizing and extending its trade.²

Simpson had very definite ideas about the measures necessary to rehabilitate the region. The first of these was to substitute home grown for imported provisions. Years before, in Athabaska, he had remarked upon the "great advantage to be derived from a little attention to Agriculture".³ ". . . Throughout the Columbia", he wrote in 1824, "no pains have been taken to meet the demands of the trade in that way which was a great oversight or neglect as corn in abundance might have been procured at little or no Expence at the Door of every Establishment but those in charge have preferred the less troublesome and more costly mode of Importing them from England Boston or California and employing extra men to deliver it into their Stores." And as if to justify his opinion he added: "It has been said that Farming is no branch of the Fur Trade but I consider that every pursuit tending to lighten the Expence of the Trade is a branch thereof. . . ." ⁴

Thanks to this and other measures, Simpson hoped to be able to reduce the staff of the district from the existing total of 136 to only 72, at a saving of £2,040 per annum.

He had comprehensive plans in mind for the coastal and overseas trade. He proposed to employ one vessel of about 150 tons, which would make an annual voyage with furs to Canton and spend the rest of her time on the coast, while a second and smaller craft would cruise on the coast continuously. He believed that the Company "ought to be able to put down all competition on the Coast"—meaning thereby the competition of American vessels—and in that case he considered that it should be possible "to do business with the Russians on advantageous terms. . . ." ⁵ The Russians, it may be added, owing to geographical circumstances,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 122-3.

³ *H.B.S.*, I, E. E. Rich (ed.), *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report*. (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1938, and London, The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1938), p. 80.

⁴ Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

depended largely for their supplies upon the American traders whom Simpson hoped to banish from the coast.

Simpson foresaw only one difficulty—the success of his plan would depend upon the cooperation of the East India Company, without whose permission the Hudson's Bay Company could not market furs in China. But he was hopeful of securing their support, since a concession might well work to the advantage of both companies. The only serious competition the East India Company faced in Canton came from the American traders who secured furs on the Northwest Coast of America. If the East India Company would strengthen the hand of the Hudson's Bay Company by contracting to purchase all furs shipped from the Columbia, Simpson was confident that the Hudson's Bay Company would be able to deal with the Americans, and by so doing, give the East India Company a monopoly in the Canton trade.¹

Finally, Simpson considered ways and means of meeting American competition in the interior. In his opinion the first step should be to exploit the Snake country promptly, before a boundary settlement placed it out of bounds for British traders. He was convinced that this would be a profitable as well as an expedient move. "If properly managed", he wrote, "no question exists that it would yield handsome profits as we have convincing proof that the country is a rich preserve of Beaver and which for political reasons we should endeavour to destroy as fast as possible."² Simpson's motives in this connection were mixed, and passed far beyond the natural desire to plunder the Snake country while the plundering was good. He hoped to see it stripped bare and converted into a fur desert of sufficient extent to turn back every American trapper who appeared in the region. And if, in the process, it produced handsomely, it would fit neatly into his long-term conservation plans. Its returns would enable him to relieve territory east of the mountains which had been "for a length of time overwrought and which if not immediately nursed and allowed to recruit will be irretrievably lost in regards to the Fur Trade."³

To supplement the Snake expedition, Simpson proposed that a second party should be sent southward nearer the coast, toward the Umpqua River. As already noted, Simpson considered that the Columbia was overstaffed, and this party was intended in the first instance to give

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 78 ff. This suggestion proved impracticable and was never carried into effect. See *H.B.S.*, III, lxx.

² Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 46.

³ D. 4/7, fo. 90, Simpson to the Governor and Committee, March 10, 1825.

employment to the supernumeraries and extra men who would otherwise remain at the posts in relative idleness.

In accordance with the wishes of the Governor and Committee, Simpson prepared to abandon Fort George by arranging for the construction of a new post on the north side of the Columbia River. The search for a site was conducted by Chief Factor Kennedy and Dr. McLoughlin, and the spot ultimately chosen was near the mouth of the Willamette River, about eighty miles from the sea. McLoughlin stated that they could find "no eligible Situation to Build on nigher the Entrance of the River".¹ Simpson was not disturbed by the distance, for in his view the new post would be no more than a "secondary Establishment".² He believed that American competition on the Columbia River itself "would be attended with a ruinous sacrifice of money",³ and for that reason felt that the principal depot should be further north. The mouth of the Fraser River seemed to him a strategic location, and he hoped that the river itself might provide a route to the interior which could replace the Columbia in case of need.

The move to the north side of the river was not to be confined to Fort George. Fort Nez Percés (Walla Walla) was to be shifted as well, while Spokane House was to be replaced by a new post some seventy-five miles to the north, near the Kettle Falls. It is interesting to note that in two instances of the three, these moves had been proposed before. As early as January, 1814, the North West Company partners had condemned Fort George and decided to move their headquarters "to the entrance of the Willamette"; but in the end the plan was abandoned because no entirely suitable site could be found.⁴ In 1822-23, when residing at Spokane House, Chief Factor Kennedy had reported that the location of the post made it needlessly expensive to supply and maintain, and had suggested its removal to Kettle Falls.⁵

Before leaving for the east, Simpson took steps to carry certain of his recommendations into effect. He had been no more than a few days in the Columbia region before he realized that able and energetic leadership was the immediate need of the Snake River expedition, and on October 28, 1824, he appointed Peter Skene Ogden to take charge of the party

¹ McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, October 6, 1825. See p. 4.

² Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 87. ³ *H.B.S.*, III, lxxv.

⁴ Elliott Coues (ed.), *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest. The manuscript journals of Alexander Henry . . . and of David Thompson* (New York, 1897), II, pp. 827-34.

⁵ B. 208/e/1. Spokane House Report, 1822-23.

then being outfitted.¹ In December Ogden and his expedition disappeared into the wilds. Eleven days after his arrival at Fort George, Simpson sent off a party under James McMillan to examine the lower valley of the Fraser River. On the whole McMillan's report was favourable, and Simpson left instructions that a post was to be built there as soon as practicable. The new establishment on the Columbia had progressed sufficiently far to be habitable by the time of his departure, and on March 19, 1825, Simpson himself formally christened it Fort Vancouver. On his way eastward he stopped off at Kettle Falls and personally lined off the site for the new post there, which he ordered to be named Fort Colville.² In addition to things actually accomplished, he had mapped out the activities of the district for the immediate future in considerable detail. He had designated Finan McDonald, a clerk, as leader of the trapping expedition to the Umpqua, and had made arrangements for the raising of cattle and planting of crops at Fort Vancouver to mention only two examples.

March 10, 1825, found Simpson at Fort George, writing a lengthy report on the Columbia, based upon the journal which has since been printed. The same day he wrote John McLoughlin a final letter of instructions. On the 18th he arrived at Fort Vancouver. The christening of the fort took place at sunrise next morning, and later in the day Simpson "took leave of our Friend the Dr" and proceeded on his long journey back to Hudson Bay.

He was accompanied by Alexander Kennedy; and with Kennedy's departure McLoughlin became the sole Chief Factor in the Columbia, with the entire district in his charge. Far too frequently this moment is regarded as the commencement of McLoughlin's career, whereas in reality he had already spent twenty-two years in the fur trade. He was an apprentice of several years' standing when the first trading post west of the Rocky Mountains, to which reference has already been made, was established by Simon Fraser. In a sense he was thus older than his new charge; and it will be well to glance back over his earlier days, which until recently have been lost in obscurity.

II. THE EARLY CAREER OF JOHN McLOUGHLIN

McLOUGHLIN was of mixed Scottish, Irish, and French ancestry. His grandfather, John McLoughlin, came to Canada from his native Scotland, and settled on a farm near the village of Rivière-du-Loup on the

¹ Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 46.

² *Ibid.*, p. 139.

south bank of the St. Lawrence River, about one hundred and twenty miles below Quebec. He married Mary Short, an Irishwoman. Their son, John McLoughlin second, succeeded his father on the farm. Across the St. Lawrence dwelt Malcolm Fraser, a man of means and prominence. He had served in the British Army, had been wounded at the battle of Quebec, and had become seignior of Murray Bay. The second John McLoughlin married Angélique, daughter of Malcolm Fraser and Marie Allaire, his young French Canadian wife. The future Chief Factor of the Columbia was their third child and eldest son. He was born in the farm-house near Rivière-du-Loup on October 19, 1784. Malcolm Fraser lived and died a Protestant, but Angélique was a Roman Catholic; and on December 5 she and her husband carried their infant son to the nearest priest, at Kamouraska. According to the records of the parish of St. Louis de Kamouraska he was there baptised Jean Baptiste; but he is known to history, like his father and grandfather before him, simply as John McLoughlin.¹

Little is known about McLoughlin's childhood, but it is said that he made frequent and long visits to his grandfather, at Murray Bay. It is clear that he was much influenced by two of his mother's brothers, Alexander and Simon Fraser. Alexander was a fur trader, who ultimately became a wintering partner of the North West Company.² Simon studied medicine, and after serving as a physician with the Black Watch through the earlier Napoleonic campaigns, settled down to private practice at Terrebonne, some few miles from Montreal.

Long before then young John McLoughlin had determined to follow a medical career. Even granting that the training required of a doctor at the time was both elementary and informal, it is surprising to learn that McLoughlin commenced his apprenticeship at latest in the fall of 1798,³ at the age of fourteen. His teacher was Dr. James Fisher, of Quebec. Fisher was one of the most prominent physicians of his day, and is now regarded as having been the father of medical legislation in Lower Canada. In April, 1803, when McLoughlin petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada for a licence to practise in the Province,

¹ Archives, Palais de Justice, Rivière-du-Loup, Quebec. (Transcripts in the Library of the Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon.)

² For biographical note see W. S. Wallace (ed.), *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1934), p. 443. Alexander Fraser left the fur trade in 1809 and retired to the seignior of Rivière-du-Loup-en-Bas, which he had purchased in 1802.

³ Possibly as early as 1797. See *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXXVII, John McLoughlin to Simon Fraser, August 2, 1810, p. 297.

Fisher supported his candidature with the following statement : " This will certify that Mr. John McLoughlin a Canadian lived with me as an apprentice & student in Medicine Surgery & Pharmacy for four years and six months during which time, he behaved honestly, he possesses talents, and I sincerely believe him a good subject to the British Government." The same month a board of examiners reported that they considered McLoughlin qualified " to Practice in Surgery and Pharmacy or as an Apothecary ", and his licence was prepared in May.¹ He was then in his nineteenth year.

McLoughlin's petition to the Lieutenant-Governor was written from Terrebonne, where he was evidently staying with his uncle, Dr. Simon Fraser. Some years ago a number of letters written by McLoughlin to Fraser during the next dozen years were discovered and presented to McLoughlin House in Oregon City.² They are by far the most important source of information regarding his career up to 1815, and the following narrative is in great part based upon them.

It seems that Fraser suggested in 1803 that the young physician should try his fortune in the West Indies. McLoughlin was eager to go, but in the end joined the service of the North West Company instead.³ The proposal that he should enter the fur trade came from no less a person than Simon McTavish, the most influential figure in the North West Company. Letters written some years later indicate that McLoughlin was influenced in his decision by promises made by McTavish to Simon Fraser. In particular, McLoughlin definitely understood that if he served an apprenticeship to the Company he would have exceptional " prospects " when his time expired.⁴ He can scarcely have been attracted by the initial salary offered, which was no more than £20 a year.⁵ Whether Alexander Fraser, his fur-trading uncle, took any part in the negotiations does not appear.

¹ *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXVI, T. C. Elliott, " John McLoughlin, M.D. ", pp. 183-185. The text of the petition and other relevant documents is given in full.

² McLoughlin House is the residence built by McLoughlin in Oregon City in 1846, after he left the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. It has been restored in recent years and furnished as a period museum. The letters in question are part of a longer series, covering the years 1806 to 1849, which has been edited and published by Jane Lewis Chapin, Curator of McLoughlin House. See *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXVI, 320-37; XXXVII, 45-75, 294-300.

³ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 323.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 323, 327; XXXVII, 294-5.

⁵ That is to say, he received £100 for the five-year period. See *ibid.*, XXXVI, 325; XXXVII, 294-5.

McLoughlin's engagement was for a period of five years, dating from the summer of 1803. It had been reduced from the usual term of seven years in view of the fact that he had served a previous apprenticeship to a surgeon.¹ It began none too happily. He was sent to the North West Company's interior depot at Kaministiquia (Fort William), where he was to serve his time under the medical officer, Dr. Henry Munro. But Munro's time was out, and McLoughlin found that he was expected to practise in his stead. Simon McTavish had promised Simon Fraser that if McLoughlin were required to practise as a surgeon he would receive £100 per annum; but no such salary was forthcoming. Nevertheless McLoughlin held his peace, for at the time the North West Company was being vigorously opposed by the rival X Y Company, and he recognized the difficulties of the situation. In November, 1804, the two companies coalesced; but McLoughlin's hope that this would lead to an increase in remuneration was doomed to disappointment. Munro was re-engaged, but was employed chiefly as a trader. In 1805 he was sent off to take charge of a post, leaving McLoughlin once more as surgeon at Kaministiquia. "It is well known", McLoughlin wrote later, "that even while Dr. Munro was in the Country I act'd always as surgeon and that he only act'd now and then when he happen'd to be here before I came from my wintering place or remain'd after I was gone. . . ." ² Yet when he protested and recalled Simon McTavish's promise of £100 a year if he were so employed, he was told that McTavish, who had died in 1804, had spoken for himself alone, not the North West Company. Any agreement he might have made had therefore died with him.³

Though stationed at Kaministiquia, McLoughlin usually wintered at some fort near the depot. The Company felt that there was no necessity to keep a surgeon on duty after the traders had scattered to their posts. It would be sufficient if he were on hand in the late spring, when they arrived at Kaministiquia with their furs to secure supplies and attend council. In the interval it would do the surgeon himself no harm to do some trading.

As it turned out, this was a most fortunate circumstance from McLoughlin's point of view. There is nothing to suggest that he was a physician of more than average ability, and in a professional capacity he does not seem to have made any great impression upon those around him. But when he engaged in the actual trading of furs, opinion changed quickly. His talents and even his physical appearance proved to be well adapted to the work. He was unusually tall and strongly

¹ *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 297.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 327.

built, and his presence inspired respect in the Indians. It is evident that he already looked much more mature than his age would suggest, for in 1807, when McLoughlin was still only twenty-three, Daniel Williams Harmon, who knew him well, assumed that he was thirty.¹ Finally, experience proved that McLoughlin could both drive a shrewd bargain and handle the natives.

Where McLoughlin spent his first two winters is not known. In July, 1805, he wrote to his uncle from Kaministiquia: "I believe I will not be able to go inland this Year And will winter here." He appealed, as on several other occasions, for books, especially medical texts and historical works.²

In July, 1806, he reported that he had "past a much better winter."³ In spite of this he was thinking of leaving the fur trade, possibly because he had heard a rumour (groundless, as it proved) that Dr. Simon Fraser was returning to the Army. "In that case", McLoughlin wrote, "I would if You and the rest of my friends thought proper go and try my fortune in your place [at Terrebonne] as the Expectations and Prospects in this Country as my Uncle Alexander can inform you are very distant and precarious."⁴ On July 30, however, he was appointed to the Lac la Pluie district as a clerk.⁵ He seems to have accepted the post with a good grace, for a note to his uncle written in August concludes: "Now as to myself who am going to winter in about ten days march from this at a new place, I am told it is a very good country thereabouts."⁶

July of 1807 found McLoughlin back at Kaministiquia (newly renamed Fort William), where he was directed to build a post on Sturgeon Lake in the department of Nipigon. As Daniel Williams Harmon was in poor health it was arranged that he should spend the winter with McLoughlin. Harmon's journal records that he and McLoughlin left Fort William on August 13, and by September 1 they had reached their destination and begun construction of the new post. The winter passed quietly, but not unpleasantly. On November 9, Harmon wrote:

¹ See Daniel Williams Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America* (Toronto, 1911), pp. 129-30.

² *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXVI, 321.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 322. McLoughlin passed either this winter or the preceding one with his uncle, Alexander Fraser; the ambiguous wording of a sentence makes it impossible to determine the date.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Wallace, *Doc. Rel. to the N.W.C.*, p. 221.

⁶ *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXVII, 294.

"We are in a solitary place, where we see no one, excepting the Natives. . . . Happily for us, we have a few good books; and in perusing them, we shall pass the greater part of the time. The Doctor . . . is an excellent companion, and fond of conversation; and I trust, that a friendly intercourse will mutually cheer our spirits, and that we shall spend the winter in a manner, that will be both pleasant and profitable."¹

Harmon noted on December 28 that McLoughlin, "accompanied by two Canadians and one of the Natives" had left "to visit Mr. Holdane, at Red Lake," about two hundred miles to the north-west. He arrived back at Sturgeon Lake in February, 1808. Three months later it was time to make the annual trek to headquarters. Harmon's journal for May 13 reads: "The Doctor, with one man in a small canoe, has set off for Fort William, where he will be wanted, as soon as he can arrive, to attend on the sick. Among the great number who visit that rendezvous every summer, there are always some, who need medical aid; though I firmly believe, that no part of the world is more healthy than this."²

McLoughlin's apprenticeship—"this sad Experiment" as he himself termed it³—expired in 1808, and it is evident that he very nearly abandoned the fur trade. The story is told in four letters to his uncle, written from Fort William in July and August. He had good reason to be dissatisfied. Not only had the alluring promises made by Simon McTavish been ignored, but his advancement in the Company's service had been exasperatingly slow. Instances had occurred in which young recruits had been made partners, and had been allotted shares, before their apprenticeship expired, whereas at the end of his time McLoughlin was not even receiving the salary of a clerk. On July 1 he wrote that he had made up his mind to leave "unless they give me two hundred [pounds] a year and certain promise that I will come in for a share at the Expiration of two or three years. . . ."⁴

Ten days later McLoughlin had an interview with William McGillivray, of McTavish, Frobisher & Company, Montreal agents for the North West Company, who arranged most of the concern's business. McGillivray offered him £150 a year; and in "a very dejected state of mind" McLoughlin described the meeting to his uncle: ". . . I ask'd

¹ Harmon, *Journal*, p. 129.

² *Ibid.*, p. 130. It was probably during this winter that McLoughlin wrote the undated 14-page report entitled *The Indians from Fort William to the Lake of the Woods* which is now in the Library of McGill University, Montreal (Masson MSS., 2364).

³ *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXVI, 323.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 324.

him what prospects I had in the country, he quickly answer'd those of other young men of character. I told him I understood otherwise on my engaging to the Company for that I would not have given five years of my time after studying a profession for the paltry sum of 100£. With that, he told me to think of his offers and give him an answer that he would not stand on a trifle, but it was impossible for him to give me expectations. I told him that I did not like the proposals and therefore was going down. . . . I am determined to go and settle at Detroit. It is certain that I will not lay up that sum [£150] but I will live in a Christian Country and live more happy than I do here." ¹

But McLoughlin's mind was not made up as definitely as this suggests. The letter continues: "However, there is one thought that unmans my fortitude and that is the fear that my brother David should [be unable to] finish his education through want of means. It was and still is (if I should remain) my intention to help him as much as possible, indeed to be answerable for what necessary amount he should require." ²

David McLoughlin, two years younger than John, had determined to study medicine, not like his brother, as an apprentice, but as a student in a medical college. He had entered Edinburgh University in 1807, and in spite of financial difficulties completed his course and received his degree in 1810. John McLoughlin's letters show that his brother's needs and difficulties were constantly in his mind, and they were probably responsible for his decision to remain with the North West Company. For in 1808, in spite of its disadvantages, McLoughlin could earn more ready money in the fur trade than anywhere else.

In the end McGillivray raised his offer to £200 a year, and this McLoughlin accepted. ³ It is significant that before he left Fort William he arranged for an advance of £100, and asked his uncle to forward it to David McLoughlin. He added: "You will believe my sincerity I hope when I tell you that nothing but my brother's situation could occasion my drawing money before it was due." ⁴

McLoughlin's new engagement was evidently for three years. Few records of his whereabouts or activities during this period, which extended

¹ *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXVII, 294-295. It is possible that McLoughlin's relationship to Alexander Fraser hindered rather than aided his advancement, as Fraser seems to have been at loggerheads with the Montreal agents. Thus in August, 1809, McLoughlin wrote: "It has been *told* me the cause of my Uncles retireing from the North West is some cause of disgust that he had from the Agents below but the Wintering partners have espous'd his cause and allow'd him to go on his Rotation. . . ." *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 325.

² *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 295. ³ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 324. ⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 296.

from 1808 to 1811, have come to light. He wrote to Dr. Fraser from Fort William on August 2, 1809, but failed to mention where he had spent the preceding winter.¹ A second letter written on August 2, 1810, shows that as his contract neared its end he once again thought of leaving the fur trade: "In a day or two I take my departure for my winter quarters, which perhaps will be the last I will pass in this Country, though I have not given my Employers any formal information of this yet." In this same letter he added: "My uncle Alexander writes me that on his retireing from being an active partner in the business he wish'd to make a transfer of his interest in my favor for which I should have been accountable for the value to him or else appoint me his attorney. Mr. McGillivray told him it could not be done nor would it add to my advantage. . . ." ²

The remark is interesting, for it suggests that the conflict which developed in later years between McLoughlin and William and Simon McGillivray may have sprung in part from antagonism dating from these earlier days. McLoughlin undoubtedly felt that the McGillivrays were standing in his way. But in spite of them, it is clear that he was making headway, especially in the esteem of his colleagues. In 1811 he was able to make the promise of a partnership a condition of the renewal of his agreement. In his own words, he was "engag'd for three years and at the End [was to] come in for a Share of the advantages of the Country that is in the outfit of 1814". ³

In view of his future career it is interesting to note that McLoughlin had "offers to go to the Columbia", ⁴ presumably in 1811, but these he declined. We know that he spent the winter of 1811-12 at Vermilion Lake, and entries in a huge old North West Company ledger,⁵ now in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, would indicate that he remained in the Lac la Pluie district for the next two years as well, although the precise post to which he was assigned does not appear. Each summer he wrote to his uncle from Fort William. Though borne up by the promise of a partnership he was frequently anything but optimistic in outlook. "... I am Greatly afraid", he wrote in

¹ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 325.

² *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 297. Cf. p. xxxv, n. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 326.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ P. 720. The entries in this ledger are in livres and sous. In 1812, 1813, and again in 1814, McLoughlin's personal account is credited with the item: "By Salary . . . 2400". As the livre exchanged at the rate of 28 to the guinea sterling, 2400 livres would be the equivalent of £90. How these entries can be reconciled with McLoughlin's own statement that his salary in 1808-1811 was £200 per annum is a mystery.

August, 1812, "this war [between Great Britain and the United States] will injure this country if not ruin it entirely but it is a thing we cannot help so that we need not repine it is really useless. . . ." ¹ In 1814, although he received the promised partnership, he confessed to being "loansome, and quite low spirited. People talk of the dessert of Siberia, but this is as bad the only difference is that there People are sent and kept in it by force here they come by choice for my part I am sorry I ever came to it." ²

McLoughlin served his first year as a wintering partner at Lac la Pluie, the same district to which he had gone as a clerk in 1806. ³ Presumably he was appointed to Fort William in 1815, for he was there when the campaign waged by the North West Company against Lord Selkirk's Red River Colony approached its tragic climax in the Seven Oaks affair of June, 1816.

The story of the massacre is a familiar one, but McLoughlin's part in the episode is less well known. It is clear that he was far from happy about the drastic and violent measures taken to crush the Colony, however necessary they may have seemed in the trading interests of the North West Company. In private, several of the partners had expressed compunction when the Settlement had been attacked and dispersed for a first time in 1815, and McLoughlin was amongst the number. ⁴ Nevertheless he had perforce to play his appointed part when a second descent was planned upon the restored Colony the next spring. The threat to the North West Company's supply lines was undoubtedly serious, and forces for the renewed attack were to be gathered from over a considerable area. Thus in a letter written at Fort William on June 3, 1816, and addressed to Cuthbert Grant and others, A. N. McLeod, Robert Henry, and John McLoughlin stated that they and their party would arrive in Red River "about the 17th of June". ⁵ In expectation of their appearance, Grant and his force of half-breeds and natives duly assembled; but, in Professor Martin's phrase, the Fort

¹ *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXVI, 328.

² *Ibid.*, 331.

³ Wallace, *Doc. Rel. to the N.W.C.*, p. 288.

⁴ See Chester Martin, *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada* (Oxford, 1916), pp. 87-8.

⁵ [John Halkett], *Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement of Kildonan upon the Red River in North America; its Destruction in the years 1815 and 1816; and the Massacre of Governor Semple and his Party* (London, 1817), p. 101. The letter is here quoted in full.

William contingent was "judiciously late" in arriving.¹ On June 19 the attack took place, Governor Semple and a score of others were killed, and the second dispersal of the Colony followed. McLoughlin and his companions first heard of these events when they met some of the expelled settlers coming down the river. McLoughlin and Robert Henry were heartily glad to have had no hand in the affair, and Henry even ventured to "thank Providence" on paper "that the Battle was over before we got there".² McLeod's harsh treatment of the settlers makes his attitude less certain.

McLoughlin returned at once to Fort William, where he found William McGillivray, one of the agents of the North West Company, and Kenneth McKenzie, one of the partners. An incident which by chance has been recorded reveals the spirit of violence which was in the air at the time, and the state of nerves to which even McLoughlin had been reduced by the events of the past few months.

There was at Fort William one Alexander Fraser, a blacksmith and time-expired servant of the North West Company. Fraser had in his possession three skins, his own property, which he had agreed to sell to one Chatelain, who was described as being "a person in the service of the Earl of Selkirk"—meaning the Hudson's Bay Company. William McGillivray heard of the transaction, accused Fraser of treachery, and forbade him to deliver the furs. But Fraser handed them over as promised, and in a deposition made a few months later described the sequel as follows: "... On the morning following the delivery of the skins, while this deponent was yet in bed he was directed to get up and go to Dr. MacLaughlin, one of the North-West partners; when he came into Dr. MacLaughlin's presence, the Doctor called out to him, 'You damned rascal, how durst you sell any thing to our enemies? I would hang you for a copper.' The deponent replied, 'You can't hang me for that, it is not so easy done.'—That the Doctor, who possessed great bodily strength, immediately laid hands on this deponent's shoulders, and pushed him down upon the floor, and gave him several severe blows." Subsequently Fraser was closely confined in highly unsavoury quarters until such time as he agreed, in desperation, to re-engage himself to the Company for a period of three years.³

A few days later Lord Selkirk himself arrived in the vicinity of Fort William. He had been on his way westward with a party of new settlers, including about a hundred discharged soldiers, when the news of the Seven Oaks massacre reached him at Sault Ste. Marie. After

¹ Martin, *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada*, p. 113.

² *Ibid.*, p. 110.

³ *Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement*, appendix, p. xcvi.

considering a few days, Selkirk decided to advance boldly upon the North West stronghold, acting in his capacity as magistrate in the Indian Territories.

He landed and camped near the fort on August 12. The next morning he sent constables to the post with a warrant for the arrest of William McGillivray. The constables came back with McGillivray, and were also accompanied by Dr. McLoughlin and Kenneth McKenzie, who hoped to be able to arrange bail. Selkirk responded by promptly arresting them as well.¹

Selkirk decided to send his prisoners to Upper Canada for trial, and on August 18 they left Fort William in the custody of G. A. Fauche, formerly a lieutenant in the famous De Meuron regiment. On the 26th the canoe in which McLoughlin and McKenzie were travelling upset in rough weather, some miles west of Sault Ste. Marie, and 9 of the 21 persons on board were drowned, including McKenzie.² McLoughlin had a very narrow escape. According to Nicholas Garry, who heard the story from McLoughlin himself, he "was taken lifeless to the Shore and it was long before he was restored."³

Possibly as a result of this experience, McLoughlin was taken ill before he reached York (Toronto). More than twenty years later he recalled the circumstances in a letter to Edward Ermatinger: "... In 1816 (fall) in the troublesome times, I fell ill going down from St Maries at Haldimand at the House of one Grover who treated me with Greatest Kindness and I Beg if you go that way that you Remember me to him in the Kindest terms."⁴

McLoughlin and his escort arrived in York on September 3, only to find the Attorney-General absent from the capital. They travelled on to Kingston, but missed him there as well. Finally at Brockville, in Lieutenant Fauche's own words, "the prisoners having applied for a Writ of Habeas Corpus, I was charged to convey them to Montreal, where we arrived on the 10th of September, and where the prisoners were all admitted to bail."⁵

¹ See Martin, *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada*, pp. 119-20.

² *Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement*, p. 179, and appendix, pp. lxxxvii-viii.

³ *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1900, Sec. II, "Diary of Nicholas Garry", p. 113; see also p. 78.

⁴ Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Ermatinger Papers. McLoughlin to Ermatinger, March 3, 1837. (Transcript in Library, The University of British Columbia.)

⁵ *Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement*, appendix, p. lxxxix.

More than two years passed before McLoughlin came up for trial, and nothing definite is known about his whereabouts in the interval except that he was at Fort William on August 16, 1817.¹ Strong circumstantial evidence suggests, however, that the North West Company had placed him in charge of the Fort William depot, in succession to the late Kenneth McKenzie.

The trial itself was only a small incident in the incredible tangle of charges, counter charges, and legal proceedings by or against Selkirk and his associates which filled the years 1817 and 1818.² McLoughlin and five others, including Simon Fraser, the explorer, were charged with being accessories after the fact for the murder of Robert Semple, at Seven Oaks. The proceedings have been printed in full, but unfortunately McLoughlin was not called in his own defence, and the record throws no new light upon his connection with the affair. The trial opened at York, Upper Canada, on October 30, 1818, and concluded the following day. The jury returned a verdict of "not guilty" after being out three-quarters of an hour.³

McLoughlin, his name cleared, returned to his charge at Fort William; but he was much concerned about the future. Ever since 1814—the year in which he had become a wintering partner—the struggle between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, intensified by Lord Selkirk's settlement scheme in Red River, had become more lawless and violent, and less to McLoughlin's liking. Moreover, by the winter of 1818-19 he was worried about the financial solvency of the North West Company. Owing to the keen competition in Athabaska and elsewhere profits were falling; and the Company was poorly prepared to withstand even a temporary check to its prosperity. There was no reserve fund, for the profits were distributed each year. The Company itself was loosely organized. Fundamentally it consisted of nothing more than a group of wintering partners, who conducted the actual trading with the Indians, and who were bound by a partnership agreement to agents in Montreal who purchased supplies, sold furs, and attended to other financial details of the business. Each summer most of the partners assembled at Fort William, where they met representatives of the

¹ Elliott Coues (ed.), *New Light on the History of the Greater Northwest* (New York, 1897), III, 981.

² See Martin, *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada*, chapter x.

³ *Report of the Proceedings connected with the disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and The North-West Company at the Assizes, held at York, in Upper Canada, October, 1818* (Montreal, 1819). The report of each trial is paged separately. That of McLoughlin, Fraser, and the others runs to 218 pages.

agents, delivered their furs, secured their supplies, and arranged matters for the ensuing season.

For many years McTavish, Frobisher & Company acted as agents for the North West Company. The coalition with the X Y Company in 1804 brought in several lesser firms. Finally in 1814 McTavish, Frobisher & Company was itself succeeded by McTavish, McGillivrays & Company, of which William and Simon McGillivray were the leading partners. The wintering partners and the agents between them held all the shares in the North West Company. In theory the wintering partners held the controlling interest by a small margin, though the commissions charged by the agents on purchases, sales, and advances much more than redressed the balance in their favour. In practice the representatives of the agents who went to Fort William—and in particular the McGillivrays—took it upon themselves to act as if they were the directors of the entire concern.¹

McLoughlin's uneasiness was shared by some of the other wintering partners, who were beginning to wonder if some agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company to end the struggle might not be prudent. On the other hand the agents stood firm. The existence of this split within the North West Company could not long be concealed. As early as February, 1819, Colin Robertson, of the Hudson's Bay Company, remarked upon the "strong symptoms of dissatisfaction among the wintering partners" which he had detected in Athabaska. But in spite of "the mighty spirit of dissatisfaction" which they professed, he felt that to separate the partners from the agents would still be no easy task. In Robertson's opinion McLoughlin was one of the very few partners who possessed "firmness of character". "A good dinner, a few fair promises would waltz the remainder about, to any tune the McGillivray's chose to strike up."²

Nevertheless when the wintering partners assembled at Fort William in July, McLoughlin led a rebellion which met with a measure of success. It so happened that the agreement with McTavish, McGillivrays & Company would soon come up for renewal, and McLoughlin astutely took advantage of the fact. The story is thus recorded in a contemporary letter: "When Mr. [William] McGillivray was at Fort William great exertions were made by him to induce the wintering

¹ On the organization of the Company see G. C. Davidson, *The North West Company* (Berkeley, California, 1918), pp. 77, 83-84.

² *H.B.S.*, II, E. E. Rich and R. Harvey Fleming (eds.), *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, September 1817 to September 1822* (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1939, and London, The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1939) p. 82.

partners to agree to a prolongation or renewal of the North West Partnership agreement which is soon to expire. The Wintering Partners refused, being desirous to see whether they could do nothing by which the fruits of their labors might be rendered more secure, & McGillivray in consequence left Fort William in a melancholy mood; but is determined next Summer to make further attempts to obtain a renewal of the partnership, without which the whole North West concern would be annihilated.”¹

If a break were to occur with McTavish, McGillivrays & Company, some alternative arrangement would have to be made. With this end in view McLoughlin next got in touch with George Moffatt, a prominent Montreal merchant and partner in a supply house, who was friendly to the Hudson's Bay Company. Moffatt in his turn communicated with Samuel Gale, a well-known barrister and journalist. Gale had espoused the cause of the Hudson's Bay Company and reported frequently upon its affairs in Canada to Lady Selkirk or to Andrew Colville, an influential member of the Committee. Gale agreed to transmit a confidential inquiry to London, and in September, 1819, dealt with the matter in a letter to Lady Selkirk. A question, he explains, has been asked him recently “on the part of a wintering partner now in the Indian Country; by a Gentleman of this place whose name I promised not to mention”. He then indicates what has happened at Fort William and continues: “The Question was this, whether the Wintering partners if they should persevere in their refusal to renew their agreement with McTavish, McGillivrays & Company could obtain from the Hudson's Bay Company their outfits or supplies of goods & sanction to trade on condition of sending their returns of furs to the Hudson's Bay Company.” The prestige which McLoughlin enjoyed amongst his fellow traders is indicated by Gale's statement that “the wintering partner” requesting the information “possesses influence to withdraw almost every useful member of the North West Association who are all dissatisfied & alarmed at being unable to get what is due to them from the Montreal houses”.²

Gale reported further that he had given an encouraging if non-committal reply to the inquiry, and advised the Hudson's Bay Company to answer it generously and quickly. He favoured “perpetual hostility” to the agents of the North West Company, but felt differently toward

¹ *Selkirk Correspondence*, 6500, Samuel Gale to Lady Selkirk, September, 1819. (This and all subsequent quotations from the Selkirk Papers are made from photostats of the transcripts in the Public Archives, Ottawa.)

² *Ibid.*, 6500-6501.

the wintering partners. Above all he asked for a speedy decision, "in order that my friend may give information to his correspondent by the first conveyance after the opening of the navigation and before any meeting take place at Fort William".¹

Gale's letter is of the first importance, for it arrived in London at a moment when the sale of Lord Selkirk's controlling interest in the Hudson's Bay Company was being seriously considered.² Selkirk's health was failing, he was involved in legal and other difficulties arising out of the Red River Colony, and his financial affairs were in disorder. The Hudson's Bay Company itself was feeling the strain of the prolonged struggle with the North West Company. It seemed as if it might be prudent to sell, even though the prospective purchaser, Edward Ellice, a wealthy capitalist, was correctly thought to be acting in conjunction with the McGillivrays of Montreal. But Gale's missive, in Selkirk's own words, "seemed to alter the whole face of affairs. . . ."³ It revealed unmistakably how precarious the position of the North West Company had become. The letter was opened by Andrew Colville, who was acting as attorney for Lady Selkirk, on Christmas Eve, 1819. Before the day was out Colville had consulted other members of the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, and had decided to negotiate with the wintering partners and to reject Ellice's offer.⁴

Little is known about the negotiations, other than that they were conducted by Samuel Gale, in Montreal, through the medium of letters from George Moffatt to McLoughlin, who remained at Fort William. McLoughlin's request that the matter be kept secret was honourably observed, but in spite of all precautions there was a suspicion abroad that discussions of some kind were afoot. It can scarcely have been a coincidence that Colin Robertson, who was convinced that the North West Company could be beaten decisively in the field, wrote to Governor Williams in February, 1820, that he had "dreadful forbodings of a junction" by negotiation.⁵

Much depended upon what happened at the annual assembly of the North West Company at Fort William in July. Samuel Gale was worried as to how the wintering partners might react to the news of the death of Lord Selkirk, which had occurred in April, 1820;⁶ and he had asked Moffatt to assure "his correspondent" (McLoughlin) that no tempering of the claims or policy of the Hudson's Bay Company was contemplated. He hoped that there would once more be no renewal

¹ *Ibid.*, 6502.

² See *H.B.S.*, II, cii-civ.

³ *Ibid.*, civ.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cv.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 273.

⁶ *Selkirk Corres.*, 6931, Samuel Gale to Andrew Colville, July 29, 1820.

of the agreement with McTavish, McGillivrays & Company, and in this he was not disappointed. McLoughlin not only stood firm, but was joined in opposition by most of the partners, many of whom seem to have realized the precarious financial state of the North West Company for the first time.¹

McGillivray's position was becoming most uncomfortable, for the existing partnership would expire with the trading season 1822-23, and the business was such that arrangements had to be made long in advance. He did finally succeed in signing up some of the partners who were related to him and a few others, but Samuel Gale reported to London that "even these would not have agreed if they had not been assured by the Agents that an arrangement was making with the Hudson's Bay Company by which all future difficulties would be avoided."² In other words, even McGillivray had been compelled to admit that a conclusion of the strife between the two companies was essential, and presumably he was relying upon Edward Ellice in London to bring it about.³

McGillivray scored one minor triumph over McLoughlin, for he succeeded in having him ousted from his position at Fort William. In a letter to J. G. McTavish, who had been named to succeed McLoughlin, McGillivray noted that "the Doctor (who feels very sore at being removed from this place) tried every means to defeat the plan, and he & those whom he got to join him, made themselves ridiculous. . ." ⁴ But this was a version of the story with which the wintering partners cannot have agreed, for no less than eighteen of them armed McLoughlin with powers of attorney, and sent him down on furlough with authority to negotiate a new agreement on their behalf.⁵ With McLoughlin went Angus Bethune, who, like him, had become a wintering partner in 1814.

McLoughlin and Bethune were in Montreal by September, 1820. Samuel Gale thus records their first activities there: "These two persons

¹ See Wallace, *Doc. Rel. to the N.W.C.*, p. 28.

² *Selkirk Corres.*, 6996, Samuel Gale to Andrew Colvile, October 28, 1820.

³ Colin Robertson, who had been seized by the North West Company, was at Fort William when the annual meeting was held in 1820. His comment in a letter was: "From all the observations I have been able to make, it appears evident that the hopes of these people are fixed on a union alone." *H.B.S.*, II, 128.

⁴ *H.B.C. Arch.* Folder of North West Company Letters. W. McGillivray to J. G. McTavish, July 15, 1820.

⁵ *H.B.S.*, I, xlvi.

on behalf of themselves and their constituents were first desirous of seeing whether an agreement with the Montreal Agency Houses might not be so effected as to render it possible to carry on their Indian trade free from collision with the Hudson's Bay Company and with other ameliorations in favor of the Wintering Partners. The Montreal Houses however totally rejected the terms proposed and a perfect breach has I believe taken place between McTavish McGillivrays & Company & Messrs. McLoughlin and Bethune."¹ Gale added that the rupture was so complete that the agents had refused to let the partners "have any even of their own money". Fortunately McLoughlin had sufficient on hand for immediate needs, and Moffatt came to Bethune's rescue.²

In October the partners wrote directly to Gale, stating that they proposed to proceed to England "for the purpose of making arrangements to carry on the Indian Trade after the Year 1823 . . ." They were ready to negotiate with a representative of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, "to which place", in Gale's words, "they were both to proceed (if Mr. McLoughlin who had been ill were sufficiently recovered, & if not Mr. Bethune was to go alone) via New York . . ."³

McLoughlin once again asked for secrecy. Gale evidently considered it necessary to inform Simpson, who was leaving for Athabaska, but otherwise he complied with the request.⁴ Actually most of the persons interested seem to have put two and two together and guessed what was afoot. Gale, for example, felt almost certain that it was for this reason that the partners had been refused their funds by McTavish, McGillivrays & Company.⁵ Further proof that the Montreal agents were not deceived is furnished by the fact that John Caldwell, of Quebec, a close friend of William McGillivray, who sailed from New York in the packet ship *Albion* with McLoughlin and Bethune, took it for granted that they intended to negotiate with the Hudson's Bay Company.⁶

By a curious chance their fellow passengers also included Colin Robertson, who had lately been in charge of the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company in the bitterly contested district of Athabaska. Robertson had originally been in the service of the North West Company. He knew and respected John McLoughlin; and in spite of the fact that they had since been in rival camps they had remained friendly.

¹ *Selkirk Corres.*, 6994, Gale to Colvile, October 28, 1820.

² *Ibid.*, 6996.

³ *Ibid.*, 6994-5.

⁴ See *H.B.S.*, II, xiv-v.

⁵ *Selkirk Corres.*, 6995, Gale to Colvile, October 28, 1820.

⁶ See *H.B.S.*, II, 158.

Robertson learned of McLoughlin's mission from Caldwell, and his letters show that he took an almost impish delight in the situation. One incident he records as follows: "In the evening the Doctor came into my state room as was his custom, and rattling first off on one point and then on another stumbled rather awkwardly upon an enquiry as to the character of the gentlemen of the committee [of the Hudson's Bay Company], if they were affable and easy in their manners. 'You will see them Doctor, by and bye, and you will tell us all about it yourself.' 'Me—me,' stammered the poor doctor, with a face as red as a full moon in a frosty morning, 'how, how am I going to see them?'"¹

Remarkably little is known about the negotiations in London which preceded the coalition of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company. The paucity of documents relating to them suggests that they were conducted mostly in a series of private discussions and interviews. All that can be said is that the following few paragraphs seem to be consistent with conditions as they existed at the time, and such facts as have been recorded.

We know that McLoughlin met Andrew Colville,² and doubtless he saw other members of the Committee; but matters did not progress in the way he had hoped. Soon after he arrived in London his position was complicated by the arrival on the scene of William and Simon McGillivray, who, with their associate, Edward Ellice, opened negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company on their own account. This placed the Company in a strong position, for it could play off the wintering partners of the North West Company against their Montreal agents. And from the first the scales were weighted against the partners. The chief objective of the Hudson's Bay Company was the elimination of competition in the fur trade. An agreement with the wintering partners alone would not guarantee this result, for the Montreal supply houses could recruit more traders and start all over again. On the other hand, an agreement with the supply firms would leave stranded any independent traders who might attempt to continue large-scale operations.

These circumstances were reflected in the agreement ultimately signed in March, 1821. It was drawn between the Hudson's Bay Company on the one hand, and Edward Ellice and the two McGillivrays on the other; the wintering partners as such had no part in it. Henceforth the whole of the united trade was to be conducted by the Hudson's Bay Company. It is clear that the doubtful financial position of the Montreal agents was carefully taken into account. They were left fully and solely liable for any claims made against the North West Company, and

¹ *Ibid.*, 139.

² See *ibid.*, 143.

it is noteworthy that only Edward Ellice, their London associate, who had an independent fortune in his own right, became a member of the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

As for the wintering partners, provision was made for the entry of most of them into the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, either as Chief Factors or Chief Traders. Forty per cent. of the profits of the Company were to be distributed to them and the other "commissioned gentlemen".

The conclusion seems inescapable that McLoughlin played no direct part of any importance in the coalition negotiations. It is true that he came to London well recommended. Samuel Gale had informed Andrew Colville that "the most perfect reliance" could be placed in the integrity and ability of McLoughlin and Bethune; that they possessed "a complete knowledge of the business of the interior, a sound judgement as to consequences, and great weight with the constituents & others. . . ."¹ No doubt they were consulted and to some extent considered. We know, for example, that Edward Ellice deemed it worth his while to make a sharp attack upon McLoughlin, which drew from Colin Robertson the generous retort: "I am afraid, Mr. Ellice, you are not exactly aware of the state of that country. Had the H.B.C. only four such men as McLoughlin, the Athabascas are ours."² But the moment the McGillivrays arrived upon the scene only McLoughlin's presence and mission, which were useful bargaining points, were of any importance to the Hudson's Bay Company.

Like many others, McLoughlin seems to have been disappointed by the terms of the coalition, but there is nothing to indicate that he was greatly dissatisfied at the time. Later he found himself faced with an overdrawn North West Company account, and legal expenses dating back to the trial of 1818, neither of which appears to have been settled until 1828.³ These financial legacies from the old North West days

¹ Possibly it is significant that Gale considered it necessary to add that they possessed these qualities "notwithstanding their appearance may not announce the capacity. . . ." McLoughlin, it must be remembered, had spent seventeen of his thirty-six years in the wilds; he was a diamond in the rough. Colin Robertson confessed as much when he met McLoughlin's brother David in France: "He bears a strong resemblance to our friend, but it is a polished likeness. What an astonishing difference a little intercourse with the world makes in a man's manners!" *H.B.S.*, II, 148.

² *Ibid.*, 142.

³ D. 5/3, fos. 120-22; 146-57d. McLoughlin to Simpson, March 1, 1828; same to same, Private, March 20, 1828.

may well have sown the seeds of discontent. But the conviction that the wintering partners had been "outrageously wronged", as he expressed it in 1843,¹ seems to have grown upon him only in his last bitter years in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company.

McLoughlin and Bethune sailed from Liverpool in the American packet *Amity* on March 31, 1821. On board they found Nicholas Garry, the member of the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company who had been entrusted with the delicate task of seeing the coalition carried into effect in North America. Garry's diary indicates that he and McLoughlin struck up a friendship and spent much time together. The *Amity* arrived in New York on May 10, and on the 12th Garry noted in his journal that McLoughlin and Bethune had left for Montreal.²

There McLoughlin's health, which had been poor since before his trip to England, broke down completely. He became "extremely ill".³ As a result he was unable to attend either the last meeting of the North West Company agents and wintering partners, which assembled at Fort William in July, or the first Council of the reorganized Northern department of the new Hudson's Bay Company, which met at Norway House in August, 1821.

McLoughlin's absence left the wintering partners who had supported him without any effective leadership, for it is obvious that he had been the life and soul of the opposition to the agents. Angus Bethune was no match for Simon McGillivray, who had no difficulty in securing the adherence of the partners to the new united company, upon the terms proposed in London. "Let me hear no more of your Nonconformist", Colin Robertson wrote to George Moffatt from Fort William on July 12, 1821, "for, with the exception of Poor McLaughlin, there is not one of them who has a grain of real independence in their whole composition. Simon McGillivray has carried everything without even the semblance of opposition."⁴ Later Robertson felt that McGillivray had been equally successful in getting his own way at Norway House. He could not but admire the zeal with which McGillivray worked to secure the best appointments for his own supporters, but he regretted the way in which "those who espoused the cause of poor McLaughlin were thrown on the banks of Columbia, Lake Huron, and Hudsons Bay".⁵

¹ Ermatinger Papers, McLoughlin to Ermatinger, February 1, 1843.

² "Diary of Nicholas Garry", p. 81.

³ *H.B.S.*, II, 162.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 163-4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 169.

McLoughlin was made a Chief Factor at the union, but he was given no appointment by the Council in 1821. In an effort to account for his whereabouts it has been suggested that he spent the ensuing year on a good-will tour of Rupert's Land, undertaken in the interests of the coalition. We know now, however, that his name was omitted because of illness, and that he spent the winter of 1821-22 in Europe. He was not overlooked, and George Simpson, the new Governor of the Northern department, wrote him the following letter with reference to the post it was proposed to assign to him in 1822 :

YORK FACTORY, 1st December, 1821.

DEAR SIR

I shall be glad to learn that you are long ere now recovered from your severe illness and hope to have the pleasure of seeing you early here next Season.

The object of this communication is to intimate the probability of your being appointed to the charge of Lac La Pluie District in order to regulate your Domestic arrangements.

Lac La Pluie being our principal Frontier establishment is supposed to require the presence of a Chief Factor and from your experience in that quarter no one can be so well qualified for it's management and in the event of opposition from the petty Traders of Lake Superior, which is not improbable, you would require the co-operation of a Chief Trader, Mr. Simon McGillivray will therefore in all probability be named as your assistant; this intimation is not however to be considered Official as the subject must come regularly before the Council previous to any change.

I remain, Dear Sir,

Your most Obedt. Humble Servt.

(signed) GEO. SIMPSON.¹

It will be recalled that McLoughlin had served the North West Company for a number of years in the Lac la Pluie district. There was a touch of irony in Simpson's choice of Chief Trader Simon McGillivray as McLoughlin's subordinate, for he was not only the son of William McGillivray, against whom McLoughlin had led the opposition, but was a grandnephew of Simon McTavish, whose promises had originally lured McLoughlin into the service of the North West Company in 1803.

Little is known about McLoughlin's second visit to Europe. A note on his account in the Commissioned Officers' Ledger indicates the route

¹ D. 4/1, fo. 14-14d., Simpson to McLoughlin, December 1, 1821.

by which he travelled: "Home via Canada 1821 Out via Liverpool and New York March, 1822."¹ Everything suggests that the journey was undertaken privately, in the interests of his health, in order that he might spend a few months under the care of his brother, Dr. David McLoughlin, who had settled in France and become a well-known physician in Boulogne and Paris. We know that John McLoughlin was in Paris on December 31, 1821, for he wrote to Nicholas Garry on that date, asking for a remittance.² He returned to London early in February.³ Late in March he left for home, having been entrusted by the Governor and Committee with the spring packets addressed to both Governor Williams and Governor Simpson. The documents thus forwarded were unusually numerous and important, and included the Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company inventories, taken the previous June.⁴

McLoughlin was in Montreal in May,⁵ but soon hurried on to York Factory, where he delivered his papers to Simpson on July 8. Simpson convened the Council of the Northern department the same day. At one of the early sessions, in accordance with the plan outlined in Simpson's letter, McLoughlin was named Chief Factor for Lac la Pluie district, with Simon McGillivray, Jr., as Chief Trader.⁶

The appointment was not an important one, but it should be remembered that it was decided upon when McLoughlin's health was in a precarious state. Lac la Pluie was of interest chiefly because it was a frontier district, in which competition from American traders could be expected. McLoughlin arrived to take up his new duties on September 1, 1822, and almost at once found himself faced with a lively opposition. This came from one Beaulieu, a clerk in the employ of Johnston, a prominent trader of Sault Ste. Marie, and from a party of twenty-two men outfitted by the American Fur Company. As the international boundary had not yet been surveyed, it offered little protection to the Hudson's Bay Company, and McLoughlin was forced to fall back upon other means of safeguarding his trade. This necessitated the building

¹ A. 16/59, fo. 18.

² A. 5/6, fo. 179d., William Smith to McLoughlin, January 8, 1822.

³ See *H.B.S.*, III, 406.

⁴ D. 5/7, fo. 30, Smith to McLoughlin, March 29, 1822. See also *H.B.S.*, III, 365.

⁵ *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXVI, 332, McLoughlin to Dr. Simon Fraser, Montreal, May 15, 1822.

⁶ *H.B.S.*, III, 15.

of three posts, but he succeeded in defending the richer part of the district and had the satisfaction of seeing the Americans competing with one another for inferior furs in the rest of the area.¹

McLoughlin attended the Council held at York Factory in July, 1823, and both he and McGillivray were reappointed to Lac la Pluie. When he returned to his post in September he found there one John Tanner, an American, who had been wounded by the Indians, and whose two daughters, whom he was taking to the Eastern United States, had disappeared. McLoughlin cared for Tanner's wounds, cheered him on his way, and "assured him that all his efforts would be used to discover the place where his daughters were, and that he would rescue and protect them until the ensuing spring, when Tanner expected to return to Rainy Lake in search of them."² The incident is not important, but it is so typical of the man that it is worth recalling.

McLoughlin fared better during the trading season of 1823-24 than he had done the previous year. Though once again assailed by an opposition, he was able to increase the returns slightly. Simpson was pleased, and noted in his report to the Governor and Committee that trade in the district had been much better than anticipated.³

Simpson seems to have left no record of his reason for transferring McLoughlin from the relatively unimportant district of Lac la Pluie to the general superintendency of the Columbia. One would have thought that so sudden and so important a promotion would have called for explanation or comment, but little has come to light. It is probable that the move was not unconnected with the current rumour that the Americans were planning to establish themselves at the mouth of the

¹ D. 4/117, fos. 36-37d., McLoughlin to Governor, Chief Factors and Chief Traders of the Northern department, January 6, 1823; *ibid.*, fos. 49d.-50d., McLoughlin to Simpson, February 26, 1823. See also A. 12/1, fo. 6d.-8, Simpson to Governor and Committee, June 23, 1823.

² W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeek, Lake of the Woods etc. performed in the year 1823 by order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, under the command of Stephen H. Long, Major U.S.T.E.* (Philadelphia, 1824), II, 120. Cf. B. 105/a/9, Journal of Lac la Pluie, in McLoughlin's handwriting, September 1, 3, 4 and 9, 1823. [The two journals kept by McLoughlin at Lac la Pluie are in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. The first (B. 105/a/8) covers the period September 2, 1822, to June 9, 1823; the second (B. 105/a/9) the period September 1, 1823, to May 8, 1824.]

³ D. 4/87, fo. 24d., Simpson to the Governor and Committee, August 10, 1824. See also *H.B.S.*, III, xxxv.

Columbia River in 1825. McLoughlin had just met competition successfully in one frontier district, and Simpson may well have regarded him as the Chief Factor best able to deal with it in another.

In any event, Simpson was convinced that speedy action was essential, and the record makes it clear that no time was lost. The Council assembled at York Factory on July 10, 1824. McLoughlin's appointment was probably made known the same day. Seventeen days later, on July 27, he was on his way to the Pacific Coast.

III. McLOUGHLIN AND THE COLUMBIA DISTRICT, 1825-1838

i

McLOUGHLIN assumed sole charge of the Columbia upon the departure of Governor Simpson from Fort Vancouver in March, 1825. In October the annual supply ship sailed for England, and by her McLoughlin sent to London the first of his many letters to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company. The documents printed in this volume include every known letter received in London from McLoughlin from that time until he left the Columbia on furlough in March, 1838. It is probable that a few short communications have disappeared, but copies of all the more important dispatches seem to have survived. All the letters have been transcribed from the Archives of the Company, with the exception of that dated October 20, 1831. No copy of this dispatch could be found, but after most of the series was in type a first draft, the greater part of which is in McLoughlin's own handwriting, was discovered in the McLoughlin letter-book in the Economics Record Library of Reed College, Portland, Oregon. It has been made available through the courtesy of Dr. Burt Brown Barker and Mr. Simeon Winch, a great-great-grandson of Dr. McLoughlin, owners of the volume.

The lack of detail in certain of the letters calls for a word of comment and explanation. The more important dispatches were originally accompanied by copies of letters and journals, accounts, requisitions, and other documents, to which McLoughlin referred his readers for further details of many of the matters discussed. A few of these papers are printed in Appendix A, but the great majority of them have been lost. It must be remembered, too, that McLoughlin corresponded with Simpson as well as with the Governor and Committee, and he naturally devoted most space to those topics which were of special concern to

the particular authority he was addressing. Again, it is evident that McLoughlin was not by nature systematic, nor did he express himself easily on paper. Occasionally—and especially when angered by opposition or criticism—he wrote forcefully and well; but many of his paragraphs are vague and diffuse, and offer a sharp contrast to the clear and orderly style of his subordinate of later years, Chief Trader James Douglas.

Because of these circumstances a few topics of importance are dealt with in the letters only sketchily, if at all. For example McLoughlin nowhere discusses the interesting question of his own status as sole Chief Factor in the Columbia. Fortunately Simpson wrote to him a few days before leaving Fort Vancouver and defined the position McLoughlin was intended to occupy. It was a matter of considerable importance and some delicacy, as the relative authority of the various commissioned gentlemen appointed to a district had been a source of friction ever since the coalition. In 1821 the Council of the Northern Department, in which Chief Traders were not represented, had resolved that the latter should “obey all orders and instructions” given by a Chief Factor. This had been much resented by the Chief Traders, even after the Council had softened the order in 1822 by directing that Chief Factors and Chief Traders alike should “pay becoming deference to the opinions of precedence or seniority”. Matters improved slowly after 1823, when the Council decided to invite Chief Traders to attend its sessions, but it is evident that the bad feeling previously engendered had had a serious effect upon the morale of the service. Thus in 1824 the Council was forced to take cognizance of the “Serious differences and insubordination” which had “lately existed among the Gentlemen in New Caledonia”, and it is significant that Chief Factor John Stuart, who had been in charge of the district for many years, was assigned to another post.¹

Judging by Simpson's letter to McLoughlin,² a very similar state of affairs existed in the Columbia. “It appears to me”, Simpson wrote, “that serious loss and inconvenience has arisen in this Department from the circumstance of no individual taking a lead in its management every Gentn. in charge of a post considering that he alone had the entire control in all matters and arrangements connected therewith and in his transactions with the Chief Factor at Fort George [the headquarters of the district] viewing his situation merely as that of a store keeper or agent placed there to answer his demands instead of superintendent of the Department generally.” He assumed that McLoughlin's predecessors

¹ For the various resolutions, and comments by Simpson and others in correspondence, see *H.B.S.*, III, 10, 16, 42, 75-6, 381, 403.

² D. 4/7, fo. 98d., Simpson to McLoughlin, March 10, 1825.

"did from a delicacy and perhaps over anxiety to avoid shewing their relative standing in the service or letting it be felt, decline exercising the powers with which they were invested to their full extent." Owing to the remoteness of the Columbia, Simpson considered it essential that McLoughlin should take the lead in its management, and he specifically instructed him to assume "a certain discretionary or controlling power in the appointments, Outfits, distribution of the people and other important arrangements . . ." If his authority were "disputed or resisted" he was "to report the same for the information & determination of the Honble. Committee."¹

This arrangement was approved by the Governor and Committee,² and McLoughlin became in fact, if not in name, general superintendent of the Columbia. In addition, in 1825-26 New Caledonia was for purposes of finance, transport, and supply, annexed to the Columbia. As his letters to London show, McLoughlin never took much interest in New Caledonia, and left its affairs to the care of the resident Chief Factor; but in theory at least it was placed under his authority. A few years later we find Simpson himself referring to McLoughlin as the "head factor and chief resident-Manager of the Hudson's Bay Company on the western coast of the continent . . ."³ Nevertheless little was left at first to McLoughlin's discretion. Simpson had very definite ideas about the management of the Columbia, and even relatively small details were frequently settled by his instructions. It was only gradually, as difficulties developed and unforeseen circumstances arose, that McLoughlin's own opinions became of practical importance.

ii

Under these conditions McLoughlin's position was not a comfortable one, and it was complicated further by the boundary question. The joint-occupation agreement between Great Britain and the United States would expire in 1828, and it was possible that a boundary might be agreed upon before that date. The Columbia River was regarded as the most likely line, and in December, 1825, Governor Pelly of the Hudson's Bay Company suggested to the Hon. George Canning, the British Foreign Secretary, that he should propose a boundary which would follow in turn

¹ *Ibid.*

² Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 266-7, Governor and Committee to Simpson, February 23, 1826.

³ *Appendix to the Case of the United States*, p. 260, Simpson to the Manager, Russian American Company, March 20, 1829.

the Columbia, Snake, Salmon, and Lemhi rivers, and which would reach the summit of the Rocky Mountains at Lemhi Pass, in the present State of Idaho.¹ Presumably this offer was made with Simpson's knowledge and consent, as he was in London at the time. By the summer of 1826 he was back at York Factory, where he wrote to McLoughlin, informing him that it was "probable that the boundary line recommended by Gov. Pelly to Mr. Canning" would be determined on.²

The prospect apparently caused Simpson no great concern. To McLoughlin, on the other hand, it seemed as if a major calamity were impending. Doubtless he realized that the line suggested was as southerly a boundary as there was any reason to hope the United States would consider; but this did not alter the fact that in his opinion even that line would ruin the Columbia District. In his first letter to the Governor and Committee he pointed out that of the returns only about 6,600 skins originated north of the Columbia River. This being so, merely to move the Company's posts from the south to the north bank of the river would not solve the problem, since those posts would pay only if the Americans permitted furs from the country south of the Columbia to reach them. If the Americans insisted upon a monopoly they would secure "all the advantages to be derived from the Fur Trade in the Columbia".³

In March, 1827, McLoughlin expressed the same view still more emphatically in a letter to Simpson: "... I know no place on the North side of the Columbia between Walla Walla and Cape Disappointment that will pay the expence of keeping up an Establishment when there is a Post in opposition on the South side except a small post in the Chichilese [Chehalis] River, ... and though it is mortifying to be obliged to abandon a business after such pains have been taken and such expences incurred to organize and establish it, yet it is preferable to do so than to carry on a loosing Concern . . ." ⁴ In reply Simpson was able to send the gratifying news that "no arrangement has yet been entered into between the two Governments nor is it probable that any will immediately be effected." ⁵ Just when McLoughlin heard definitely that the Columbia had been reprieved we do not know. Negotiations had been

¹ See *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XX, T. C. Elliott, "The Northern Boundary of Oregon", p. 33. For the letter from Pelly to Canning see Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 257-9.

² D. 4/6, fo. 3d., Simpson to McLoughlin, July 10, 1826.

³ See pp. 12-13.

⁴ D. 4/120, fo. 49d., McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1827.

⁵ D. 4/90, fo. 88, Simpson to McLoughlin, July 9, 1827.

resumed in 1826, and the respective "final" offers of Great Britain and the United States were rejected late in the year. The convention which extended the joint-occupation agreement indefinitely was signed on August 6, 1827. McLoughlin probably first heard of it when the annual supply ship arrived in the Columbia in May of 1828.

Meanwhile his work had been overshadowed for three years by the possibility that the district in his charge might at any moment be rent asunder by a boundary settlement. He had been occupied chiefly in carrying out instructions to which this uncertainty had given rise. There was first the matter of the removal of trading posts to the north bank of the Columbia River—a policy which McLoughlin considered futile. The transfer of goods from Fort George to the new district headquarters at Fort Vancouver was completed in April, 1825, within a few weeks of Simpson's departure. The old post was finally abandoned in June; but it was reoccupied frequently in later years, when it suited the convenience of the Company. Only essential buildings were constructed at Fort Vancouver at first, and these were situated on high land, some distance back from the river.¹ The site would have served well for an ordinary trading post, and it was assumed that the district depot would soon be moved elsewhere.

The other posts involved were Spokane House and Fort Nez Percés (Walla Walla). Construction of Fort Colville, the new establishment near Kettle Falls, which was to replace Spokane House, proceeded but slowly, and the transfer did not take place until 1826. Even then the post was far from complete. The delay appears to have been deliberate, and due to the boundary negotiations, for in July, 1827, Simpson wrote to J. W. Dease, the Chief Trader in charge: "We regret you have not gone on with the Buildings and improvements at Fort Colville, and beg that they may be continued as if no such nation as America existed—there is no probability of a boundary line being determined for many years . . ." ²

Simpson did not expect the Indians about Spokane House to be pleased at the removal of the post, but they gave no serious trouble. It was otherwise at Fort Nez Percés, where Samuel Black was in charge. Simpson himself had noted that the Nez Percés tribe was "by far the most powerful and Warlike in the Columbia", and that it held "the Key of the River", since three hundred miles of its course lay within

¹ The site is now occupied by the Washington State Asylum for the Deaf, a short distance east of the present city of Vancouver, Washington.

² D. 4/90, fo. 117d., Simpson to J. W. Dease, July 9, 1827.

territory controlled by the tribe. It was therefore "an object of the first importance to keep on terms of friendship . . . and not even venture the chance of a rupture . . ." ¹ Black quickly discovered that the natives strongly opposed the plan to move Fort Nez Percés across the river, since they were in the habit of congregating on the south bank, and McLoughlin agreed that it would not be prudent to force the issue. Black shared McLoughlin's doubts as to the wisdom of moving the post. If the Columbia became the boundary he suspected that it would be "scarcely worth while keeping up an Establishment" except for purposes of communication. ²

As these events indicate, the Indians did not cease to give serious trouble the moment McLoughlin arrived in the Columbia, as is sometimes supposed. Oddly enough, the first words of his first letter to Simpson, dated June 20, 1825, inform the Governor of an inter-tribal murder which threw the Indians of the lower Columbia Valley into a turmoil, and caused McLoughlin to fear for the safety of the men and posts in his charge. ³ The remarkable ascendancy which McLoughlin later possessed over the Indians was only acquired through the years, and by strict adherence to the time-tested principles which underlay the Indian policy of the Hudson's Bay Company. So far as possible the Indians were left alone, and the Company sought to modify only the most barbarous of their customs. On the other hand the Company regarded its posts and servants as things apart, and aimed to make it clear that if either were molested, certain retribution would follow. This is not to say that relations between the Indians and the Company were not cordial. Every effort was made to win and retain the friendship and support of the chiefs, and matrimonial as well as other measures were frequently employed, sometimes regardless of the convenience of the individual concerned. In April, 1825, for example, Simpson suggested to McLoughlin that it would be expedient if John Work took to wife the daughter of a chief of the Cayuse Indians, the expenses to be defrayed by the Company. It was expected that Work would be travelling frequently on the portion of the Columbia River controlled by the tribe, and Simpson pointed out that the connection would afford some protection to the Company's brigades, and advised that the lady should be a passenger on every trip. ⁴ Whether or not Work obliged the Company does not appear.

¹ Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 55-6.

² B. 223/b/2, fo. 8, Black to McLoughlin, April 22, 1826.

³ D. 4/119, fo. 4, McLoughlin to Simpson, June 20, 1825.

⁴ D. 4/5, fo. 28, Simpson to McLoughlin, April 10, 1825.

Closely related to the moving of the posts was the choice of a site for the permanent depot which was to replace Fort George. Until 1828 the problem revolved about the Fraser River, and the question as to whether or not it was a navigable stream, comparable to the Columbia, which gave easy access to the Interior. Not for the first time in his career, Simpson allowed his wishes to influence his judgment. He was well aware that McMillan's expedition of 1824 had done no more than examine the Fraser's lower reaches. He admitted frankly in his journal that he knew little about it. Yet he felt that the principal depot should be situated at its mouth, and went so far as to state that the Fraser had been "formed by nature as the grand communication with all our Establishments on this side the mountain".¹ A year later he denied this view in his reply to a query from the British Foreign Office: "From all the information I have been able to collect respecting Frazers river, it is not my opinion that it affords a communication by which the interior Country can be supplied from the Coast, or that it can be depended on as an outlet for the returns of the interior." He added that if the Company were denied free navigation of the Columbia ("the only navigable River to the Interior from the Coast, we are acquainted with"), they would have to "abandon and curtail their Trade in some parts, and probably be constrained to relinquish it on the West side of the Rocky Mountains altogether".²

But the Foreign Office desired this information in connection with the boundary negotiations, and Simpson was evidently dressing his window to suit the occasion. For only a few weeks later the Governor and Committee wrote to Simpson, asked that a post be established on the Fraser, and added: "From the central situation . . . we think it probable that it will be found to be the proper Place for the principal depot."³ By 1827 Simpson himself once more advocated this opinion. In July he informed McLoughlin that New Caledonia should be outfitted by way of the Fraser instead of the Columbia "if the navigation of Fraser's River be practicable of which from the various reports that have reached us there can be no doubt".⁴ He was confident that within a few years the mouth of the Fraser would "become our principal Depot for the country west of the Mountains".⁵

¹ Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 76.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 264-6, Simpson to Addington, January 5, 1826.

³ A. 6/21, fo. 75, Governor and Committee to Simpson, February 23, 1826.

⁴ D. 4/90, fo. 94, Simpson to McLoughlin, July 9, 1827.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fo. 98d.

It is interesting to trace the development of McLoughlin's contrary opinion. From the first he felt that to lose the Columbia River would be to lose all. So far as the depot was concerned, he considered that two preliminary matters must be cleared up before any decision could be reached; it must be known whether or not the Company was to continue trading south of the Columbia; and more must be learned about travel routes from the coast to the interior. He felt strongly about the matter, and in his first letter to the Governor and Committee declared that "until these points are settled . . . it is utterly out of any ones power to point out where the main Depot will be most conveniently Situated . . ." ¹ In September, 1826, he once again emphasized the fact that it was "Impossible to say which is the Best situation for a Depot Untill we know the plans to be followed" ²

As for the Fraser River, McLoughlin seized every opportunity to secure information regarding it, and what he heard was not reassuring. Archibald McDonald was directed to explore the Thompson River from Kamloops to the Fraser, while William Connolly, the Chief Factor in New Caledonia, undertook to have the Fraser itself explored from Fort Alexandria to the mouth of the Thompson. Basing his opinion on these and other investigations, McLoughlin informed the Governor and Committee, in 1826, that "the Navigation of Frasers River is Reported to be difficult and dangerous and Great part of it in the Summer Months to be Unnavigable" ³ In March, 1827, he wrote to Simpson that in his opinion "Frasers River in summer is not navigable with loaded boats from a little distance below Alexandria to nigh where it receives Thompsons River . . ." ⁴ There the matter rested until the autumn of 1828, when Simpson himself undertook to descend the Fraser from the interior to its mouth. The change of heart brought about by this journey was so complete and so frankly confessed that it is almost engaging. In March, 1829, he informed the Governor and Committee that the Fraser was useless for purposes of communication: "I should consider the passage down, to be certain Death, in nine attempts out of Ten. I shall therefore no longer talk of it as a navigable stream, altho' for years past I had flattered myself with the idea, that the loss of the Columbia would in reality be of very little consequence to the Honble. Coys. interests on this side the Continent." ⁵

¹ McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, October 6, 1825. See pp. 19-20.

² Same to same, September 1, 1826. See p. 32. ³ *Ibid.* See p. 32.

⁴ D. 4/120, fo. 51d., McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1827.

⁵ D. 4/93, Simpson's 1829 Report, fo. 34.

This admission must have been a source of satisfaction to McLoughlin. In addition it was of practical importance because of its bearing upon the depot problem. By the time Simpson arrived on the coast the joint-occupation agreement had been extended, and the Hudson's Bay Company was assured of access to the country south of the Columbia River for some years to come. As the river itself was much the best travel route to the interior, it was but logical that the principal depot should be situated near its mouth, at Fort Vancouver. Since the existing post was not suitable either in location or character for use as a permanent depot, the fort was rebuilt in 1828-29 upon a new site nearer the river.¹ Oddly enough, in spite of the keen personal interest which McLoughlin took in the affairs of the post, no reference is made to this important development in any of his letters to the Governor and Committee.

Even this brief outline of the uncertainty regarding the boundary, the location of the depot, and the navigability of the Fraser River is sufficient to show how disturbed and difficult were the years between Simpson's departure in the spring of 1825 and his second visit to the Columbia in 1828-29. For the greater part of the time anything approaching long-term planning was impossible, and McLoughlin had to carry on the trade from year to year as best he could.

iii

All McLoughlin's early letters to the Governor and Committee contain extended references to the trading and trapping parties which are known to history as the Snake River expeditions. Their story illustrates well the shrewdness and ability with which he managed the Company's affairs.

In October, 1824, Simpson had placed Peter Skene Ogden in charge of the expedition then outfitting, and in December Ogden set out from Flathead for the Snake Country. His party consisted of about 75 men and lads, equipped with 80 guns, 364 beaver traps, and 372 horses; but this cavalcade was less formidable than it seemed. Few of its members were regularly engaged servants of the Company; the great majority were freemen, by which were meant retired or discharged servants, for the most part half-breeds or Indians, who preferred to remain in the wilds and endeavour to carry on an independent existence. Simpson described those who were in the habit of joining the Snake expeditions as "the very scum of the country and generally outcasts from the Service for misconduct . . . the most unruly and troublesome gang to deal with

¹ This site is now part of the military reservation at Vancouver, Washington.

in this or perhaps any other part of the World . . .”¹ In part this character appears to have been due to the unfavourable terms upon which they found it necessary to join the Snake parties. The low price they received for their furs in the autumn was often scarcely sufficient to maintain them during the winter, with the result that they were forced to go heavily into debt in order to outfit themselves for the new trapping season in the spring. It was said that even if a freeman brought in as many as a hundred and fifty beaver the disparity between the price paid for furs and that charged for supplies was so great that he remained in debt. From this situation there could be no escape until rival traders appeared upon the scene, to whom the freemen could dispose of their catch to greater advantage. As a consequence the freemen seethed with discontent, a circumstance which helped to make the leadership of the Snake party, in Simpson’s phrase, “the most hazardous and disagreeable office in the Indian Country . . .”²

Ogden had the misfortune to receive command of the expedition just at the time that American traders were penetrating to the Snake country in some force. William Ashley had recruited the first of his trapping parties in 1822, and in the summer of 1824 some of his men, led by the noted trader Jedediah Smith, met the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Snake party, which that season was in charge of Alexander Ross. Most unwisely Ross permitted Smith and six of his men to return with him to Flathead. The Americans accompanied Ogden’s expedition when it set out in December, and travelled with it until it reached the Bear River, in the early days of May, 1825. Smith must have been fully aware of the discontent existing among the freemen with Ogden, and this knowledge undoubtedly had a bearing upon the events which followed.

On May 23, while Ogden was still in the Bear Valley, some of Ashley’s trappers, led by one Johnson Gardner, encamped nearby, and the next day twenty-three of Ogden’s freemen deserted and joined the Americans. Fourteen of them took their furs, traps, and horses with them. Most of the deserters were Iroquois whose leader, John Grey, had given Ross many anxious hours in 1824. In his journal Ross characterized him, probably with undue severity, as “a turbulent black-guard, a damned rascal”.³ According to Ogden, Grey and Gardner addressed him as follows: “. . . Grey Said I must now tell you that all the Iroquois as well as myself have long wished for an opportunity to join

¹ Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 45.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XIV, T. C. Elliott (ed.), “Journal of Alexander Ross—Snake Country Expedition, 1824”, p. 375.

the Americans & if we did Not Sooner it was owing to our bad luck in Not meeting with them, but now we go & all you Can Say Cannot prevent us . . . go we will we are now in a free Country & have Friends here to Support us & if every man in the Camp does not leave you they do not Seek their own interest . . .”¹

Grey was an American, and his statement that he was “now in a free Country” should be noted. The American traders, almost without exception, considered that the Snake Country and even the Columbia Valley proper were already a part of the United States. To them the Hudson’s Bay Company was an interloper—a foreign corporation which unfortunately had been granted temporary trading rights by the joint-occupation agreement of 1818. Grey was only repeating what Gardner had already said. Ogden records that Gardner and his men “encamped within 100 yards of our Camp and hoisted the American Flag, and proclaimed to all that they were in the United States Territories . . .”² Before they parted Gardner went so far as to warn Ogden that the Company would soon be expelled from the whole region. To which Ogden “. . . made answer when we Should receive orders from our Government to leave the Columbia we would but Not before to this he replied our Troops will make you this Fall we then parted . . .”³

Ogden reported these events to McLoughlin as promptly as possible. His reference to “that damn’d all cursed day that Mr. Ross consented to bring the 7 Americans with him to the Flat heads”⁴ is scarcely to be wondered at, nor is his pessimism regarding the future of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s trade in the Snake Country: “You need not anticipate another expedition ensuing Year to this Country,” he informed the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders, “for not a freeman will return, and should they, it would be to join the Americans . . .”⁵

McLoughlin received Ogden’s message on August 9. The circular

¹ B. 202/a/2, fo. 24d., Ogden’s Snake River Journal, May 24, 1825. This is the earliest of three accounts of the incident written by Ogden. The second is in the letter to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders dated Snake Plains, June 27, 1825, which is printed complete in Appendix A (see pp. 296-9). The third is in a further letter to the Governors, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders, dated East Fork, Missouri, July 10, 1825. (D. 4/119, fos. 12-15.) For the text see *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXV, pp. 107-115.

² *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXV, 109.

³ B. 202/a/2, fo. 25d., May 25, 1825.

⁴ D. 4/119, Ogden to Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders, June 27, 1825. See Appendix A, p. 297.

⁵ *Ibid.* See p. 299.

dispatch to Chief Factors and Chief Traders which he wrote the next day will be found in Appendix A. It shows that his reaction was both immediate and vigorous. Gardner's threats in particular infuriated him, and to his colleagues he declared: "... We are justified in resisting to the Utmost of our power any attack on our persons and property or any assumption of authority over us by the Americans—Indeed so confident am I of our being justified in this that had we a party sufficiently strong ... I would have no hesitation to make another attempt in that quarter if it was merely for one year to defy them to put their threats in Execution ..."¹ Apparently this was not the response that the American traders had anticipated, for when the succeeding Snake expedition encountered a party of them in April of 1826, Ogden noted in his journal: "If we were surprised they were more so from an idea that the threats of last year would have prevented us from returning to this quarter, but they find themselves mistaken ..."²

So far as the freemen were concerned, McLoughlin was not prepared at first to admit that they had a legitimate grievance. He contended that they "are in Debt much against our will", and that "these advances had been made to oblige and accomodate them when at the time we ran the risk of loseing our property by their death ..."³ As late as October, 1825, he remained of much the same opinion. "The freemen it seems complained of their Traps and the prices they pay for their Goods," he wrote to the Governor and Committee. In rebuttal he pointed out that the traps had been "made Stronger ... than they used to be"; and he clearly expected that a small concession, whereby the freemen would be able to purchase supplies at Fort Nez Percés at the somewhat lower prices which normally prevailed at Fort Vancouver, would solve the difficulty.⁴

So far as the Governor and Committee were concerned, the issue was befogged by a secondary question. After his sad experience in the Bear Valley, Ogden decided to return homeward by way of the headwaters of the Missouri. One of his reports was dated from the East Fork of the river, and Ogden traded furs thereabouts, in what was indisputably

¹ B. 223/b/1, McLoughlin to Chief Factors and Chief Traders, August 10, 1825. See Appendix A, p. 302.

² *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, X, T. C. Elliott (ed.) "The Journal of Peter Skene Ogden", p. 359.

³ B. 223/b/1, McLoughlin to Chief Factors and Chief Traders, August 10, 1825. See Appendix A, p. 303.

⁴ D. 4/6, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, October 6, 1825. See p. 10.

United States territory. These facts McLoughlin mentioned incidentally when reporting to London, with the result that a stinging rebuke was sent both to Ogden and his superiors. To Simpson the Governor and Committee wrote in June, 1826: "We have repeatedly given directions that all collision with the Americans should be avoided as well as infringements upon their Territory, it appears however . . . that Mr. Ogden must have been to the southward of 49° of latitude and to the Eastward of the Rocky Mountains which he should particularly have avoided . . ." ¹ To McLoughlin they expressed the view that the troubles of Ogden's expedition had "been occasioned by his having extended it into the territory of the United States . . ." They directed that in future all trading parties should keep to the West of the mountains, and warned that "any inattention to this instruction, on the matter being made known to us will be attended with our serious displeasure". ² Owing to the slowness of communication between London and the Columbia another whole year passed before this matter was finally straightened out. McLoughlin explained, in Ogden's defence, that it was true he had crossed to the east side of the Mountains, but that in so doing he had simply followed the usual travel route from Flathead to the Snake Country. No orders to discontinue the use of this route had been received. Furthermore, the freemen had deserted while the party was on the west side of the mountains, where it had every right to be. ³

McLoughlin was at Fort Nez Percés to meet Ogden when he arrived there in November, 1825. In spite of all his difficulties, Ogden's returns were "very handsome", amounting in all to 3,188 made beaver, of which 3,090 were in beaver. McLoughlin was loath to retire from so profitable a field, and a new Snake expedition was outfitted and sent off under Ogden's command in the short space of twelve days. Owing to the relatively small number of freemen available, it was necessary to send a much higher proportion of Company servants than usual. In spite of this prompt action, we know that McLoughlin was doubtful about the future, for he wrote to Simpson in March of 1826: ". . . you are better acquainted than I am, whether it is our interest or not to keep up the Snake expedition, perhaps we are on the Eve of being obliged to withdraw from it." ⁴

¹ D. 5/1, fo. 196, Governor and Committee to Simpson, June 2, 1826.

² A. 6/21, fo. 101-101d., Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, September 20, 1826.

³ B. 223/b/3, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, July 6, 1827. See pp. 40-1.

⁴ D. 4/19, fo. 45, McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1826.

Meanwhile McLoughlin had begun an investigation of the Snake expedition accounts. For financial purposes both Flathead Post and the Snake parties had been attached to Spokane House, and it proved difficult to disentangle the affairs of the posts and trapping parties. When this was finally accomplished, however, McLoughlin was much struck with the result. In Ogden's first expedition in 1824-25, the cost of a made beaver had been only 10s. 2½d. More surprising still, only 2s. of this amount represented the value of goods received by the freemen. The balance, in McLoughlin's words, was "caused by losses incurred by desertion and by expences in sending clerks and servants to watch over" the freemen.¹ In the light of these figures it was clear that the wrongs of the freemen, whether fancied or genuine, were extremely costly to the Company, and that the Snake expedition could not be placed upon a sound basis until they were righted.

Further investigation showed that the tariff at which the freemen could purchase equipment and supplies was the crux of the matter. The American traders might pay more for furs than the Hudson's Bay Company, but their tariff for goods supplied was correspondingly high. Thanks to the relative cheapness with which it could bring goods by ship to the Columbia, the Company could, if it chose, undersell its rivals by so great a margin that its fur prices, though lower than those offered by the Americans, would nevertheless be more profitable to the trapper. Taking full advantage of this, McLoughlin gave the freemen a lower tariff on supplies, and at the same time he found it possible to raise and stabilize the price of furs. As he explained to Simpson, it was "certainly much better much more effectual to allow the expences we are obliged to incur at once to the Hunter, it secures their fidelity equips them more completely and stimulates them to exert themselves..."² These changes became effective in the summer of 1826. They were made very largely on McLoughlin's own responsibility—a point that should be noted, for this was the first occasion upon which he personally intervened decisively in the affairs of the Columbia District.

In later years McLoughlin stated that he continued the Snake expedition against the advice of his colleagues. Be that as it may, his letters written in 1827 show that he himself had passed from pessimism to optimism regarding its future. A search of the old records had convinced him that "the cheapest furs the trade collected in 1822, 1823 and 1824 are the Snake Returns",³ and he was confident that this would continue to be

¹ D. 4/120, fo. 52d., McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1827. ² *Ibid.*

³ B. 223/b/3, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, July 6, 1827. See p. 48.

true for at least some years to come. Reporting his new policy to Simpson in March, 1827, he wrote: "... I can only say that urged by the necessity of the Case and in anticipation of your approval I promised the Freeman 10/- for every large Beaver and half that sum for a cub ... I consider the measure will be advantageous to the Concern, and if we wished to retain these Men we had no alternative left ..."¹ To the Governor and Committee he stated, referring to Ogden's difficulties, that "the High price charged for the Supplies was the cause of all this Discontent", and expressed the opinion that this had been "the cause of the troubles that have attended the Snake Expedition since its first commencement".² He was able to report that the current expedition, to which the new terms applied, had left "in high Spirits" and that Ogden had reported by letter that his men were "exerting themselves well".³

The Governor and Committee made no objection to the more generous terms McLoughlin gave the freemen; indeed, his action accorded perfectly with the policy they had already laid down. "We can afford to pay as good a price as the Americans", they wrote to Simpson in the spring of 1827, "and where there is risk of meeting their parties it is necessary to pay as much or something more to avoid the risk of a result similar to that of Mr. Ogden. By attempting to make such expeditions too profitable the whole may be lost ..."⁴

McLoughlin was responsible for a number of further changes which were very beneficial to the trapping parties. Hitherto it had been customary to set a date by which the expedition was expected to have returned. McLoughlin felt that this might better be left to the discretion of the leader. Thus when Ogden set out in September, 1826, he was free "to guide himself in his proceedings by the circumstances he finds himself placed in and only to return in 1827 when it suits his views."⁵ In the second place, McLoughlin arranged for the parties to spend much more of their time in the field. Some of the earlier expeditions left in February and returned in November, an arrangement which not only kept the trappers in idleness most of the winter, but prevented them from

¹ D. 4/120, fo. 52, Simpson to McLoughlin, March 20, 1827.

² B. 223/b/3, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, July 6, 1827. See p. 40.

³ D. 4/120, fo. 53, McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1827.

⁴ *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXV, 119-120, Governor and Committee to Simpson, March 12, 1827.

⁵ D. 4/120, fo. 52, McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1827.

taking furs at the best season. In later years Ogden was in the field almost continuously. As a rule he endeavoured to return in time to permit his catch to be sent to London in the autumn by the annual supply ship, but he would be off again within a few weeks. Ogden himself brought about another important change—a marked improvement in the quality and condition of the Snake Country furs. An entry in his journal reads: “It is a pleasure to observe the ladys of the camp vieing who will produce on their return to Ft. Vancouver the cleanest and best dressed beaver.”¹ In August, 1826, McLoughlin wrote to J. W. Dease: “the Snake furs this year are the finest furs in the Columbia and will bear a comparison with most of those on the other side [of the mountains].”²

Although these reforms accomplished much, they could not lessen the dangers and hardships inherent in such a venture as the Snake expedition. Travel was often difficult and dangerous; the Indians were at best unreliable, and might at any time prove hostile; the traders to a great extent had to live off the country, and starvation frequently stared them in the face. The fortitude shown by his men astonished even Ogden. On March 13, 1827, he wrote in his journal: “All obliged to sleep out in pouring rain and without blankets. Not one complaint. This life makes a young man sixty in a few years. Wading in cold water all day, they earn 10 shillings P. beaver. A convict at Botany Bay is a gentleman at ease compared to my trappers. Still they are happy. A roving life suits them. They would regard it as a punishment to be sent to Canada.”³

American competition added to the difficulties of the expedition. In 1827-28, for example, American traders kept company with Ogden's party almost continuously from September until November, and from late December until the end of March, or for five months out of six. At first Ogden was despondent and wrote in his journal: “I have little hope as the American trappers are everywhere.” But thanks to his skill and perseverance this same journal concludes with the entry: “The returns far exceed my expectations.” Equally significant is the fact that he secured a considerable number of skins from the Americans themselves. As we shall see, trading of this sort, and the traffic in supplies which characterized it, were to become important activities in the Snake Country in later years.⁴

¹ *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XI, T. C. Elliott (ed.), “The Journal of Peter Skene Ogden”, p. 214.

² B. 223/b/2, fo. 16d., McLoughlin to Dease, August 8, 1826.

³ *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XI, “Ogden's Journals”, pp. 216-17.

⁴ For the 1827-28 journal, see *ibid.*, pp. 361-79.

When the complete texts of Ogden's surviving journals become available, it is possible that the history of the Snake Country during these years will require to be rewritten. But even the abridged versions now in print show that the Hudson's Bay Company was far from enjoying the near-monopoly of the region with which it is often credited. No doubt this impression has arisen from the frequency with which the importance of trapping-out the Snake Country is referred to in the correspondence of the time. But most of these references are to instructions and aspirations rather than to achievements; and many of them relate to political rather than purely commercial considerations. They hark back to the protective strategy which underlay the whole policy of the Company in the Columbia. Simpson summed up the whole matter in a letter to McLoughlin in July, 1827: "The greatest and best protection we can have from opposition is keeping the country closely hunted as the first step that the American Government will take towards Colonization is through their Indian Traders and if the country becomes exhausted in Fur bearing animals they can have no inducement to proceed thither. We therefore entreat that no exertions be spared to explore and Trap every part of the country and as the service is both dangerous and laborious we wish our people to be treated with kindness and liberality."¹ But the Company was far from having the Snake Country to itself; and it was competition quite as much as depletion of the fur supply which compelled a change in trading tactics a few years later.

The Snake expeditions were only the most important of several trading and trapping parties which were outfitted more or less regularly in the Columbia. In his first letter to the Governor and Committee McLoughlin notes the difficulties which delayed the departure of the first of the so-called "Southern" parties, in charge of Chief Trader Alexander Roderick McLeod. Its object was to travel southward through the Willamette Valley and explore the unknown country in the vicinity of the Umpqua River. In later years the party pushed on to the Klamath River, and even to the Bonaventura (Sacramento) Valley. It was concerned only with the coastal region, and a rough demarcation of territory was made between it and the Snake expeditions. Thus in May, 1829, Ogden wrote in his journal: "As I do not wish to infringe on McLeod's territory, I gave orders to raise camp and return. McLeod's territory is the water discharging in the ocean."² The returns from the "Southern" parties were never large, and McLeod's leadership was

¹ See *H.B.S.*, III, lxviii.

² *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XI, "Ogden's Journal", p. 395.

much criticized; but they served the important strategic purpose of keeping the country occupied, and frequently gave employment to men who would otherwise have been relatively idle.

Under McLoughlin the supply base for the Snake expedition was shifted from Flathead to Fort Nez Percés. Thereafter a small party was outfitted at the former post to trade amongst the Flathead Indians, and in later years a similar party was sent amongst the Kootenays.

iv

Few topics loom larger in McLoughlin's letters than his efforts to develop the coastal trade. It was a project to which both the Governor and Committee and Simpson attached great importance, and in 1825 McLoughlin had orders to send the annual supply vessel *William and Ann* on a reconnaissance cruise to the northward as soon as possible after her arrival.

The voyage was characterized by delays and disappointments. The brig arrived at Fort George on April 16, but Captain Henry Hanwell, junior, reported that she was in need of extensive repairs. Every effort was made to speed the work, but the *William and Ann* did not leave the river, northward bound, until the 2nd of June. McLoughlin had explained the purpose of the cruise in a letter to Hanwell, in which he paraphrased the instructions received from the Governor and Committee. Hanwell was to ascertain whether there was "any good road Stead or Harbour in the Portland Canal or between it & the Columbia & if there are any & what Rivers Communicating & how & by whom the Coasts are inhabited." If time permitted he might go as far north as Sitka, since it was "an object of great importance to get every & the best information of this Coast".¹ McLoughlin sent an experienced clerk, Alexander McKenzie, with Hanwell, both to attend to the details of trading, and to announce to all and sundry the intention of the Hudson's Bay Company to enter the coastal trade.²

In spite of these careful preparations the expedition was an almost complete failure. Hanwell seems to have been terrified by the hazards of navigation on the coast, and gave McKenzie little opportunity to secure information about the natives, their furs, and the goods they would accept in barter for them. McLoughlin's language to the Governor and Committee was restrained; but he sent a scathing account of Hanwell's

¹ B. 223/b/1, fo. 28, McLoughlin to Hanwell, May 24, 1825.

² McLoughlin's instructions to McKenzie are in B. 223/b/1, fos. 27-8.

conduct to Simpson in the spring of 1826, when he was planning the new season's trading, and was realizing afresh how little he had learned by the cruise of the *William and Ann*. "Alarmed by the dangers he had encountered", McLoughlin wrote, "he would not venture to enter Portland Canal . . ." Instead he sailed into Observatory Inlet, "where he was detained twenty nine days, without ascertaining if any River discharged into it." In that time he traded no more than thirty-seven beaver and five land otter. Southward bound, he paused briefly off Nootka and then spent a month in the Strait of Juan de Fuca and adjacent waters, which McLoughlin "considered as so much lost time, as it has not increased our knowledge of that place, and the Skins traded there would by the usual route have found their way to our stores."¹ Even when no danger threatened, Hanwell was unable to see, or unwilling to seize, an opportunity to secure information. In the course of her cruise the *William and Ann* met the American brig *Owhyhee*, whose friendly commander, Captain Kelly, had had much experience in the coastal fur trade. He came aboard the *William and Ann*, pointed out various ways in which she was poorly adapted to the trade, and invited Hanwell to inspect his own vessel; but Hanwell did not take the trouble to do so. Nor did McLoughlin's difficulties with Hanwell end with his return to the Columbia River. He had the utmost difficulty in persuading him to bring his ship up the river to facilitate loading her, and in addition discovered that Hanwell was selling liquor to the Indians. In the latter connection he wrote to Hanwell: "It is unfortunate the Captain Sells liquor to the Indians—It spoils them—we Sell No liquor to them on any account, Selling liquor to Indians is prohibited by a positive order of the Committee."² It takes little reading between the lines to perceive the blazing anger that lay behind his words. Simpson summed the matter up well when he remarked to the Governor and Committee that Hanwell's "prudence on that Voyage amounted to pusillanimity."³

It was obvious that the failure of the cruise had been due in part to the fact that McLoughlin lacked authority to give direct orders to Hanwell, and Simpson recommended that, in future, ship captains visiting the Columbia should be placed under the district Chief Factor.

In spite of Hanwell's failure, McLoughlin's native shrewdness enabled him to come to certain conclusions about the coast trade, even from the scanty information at his disposal. The encounter with the

¹ D. 4/119, fo. 41d., McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1826.

² B. 223/b/1, fo. 30, McLoughlin to Hanwell, undated [September, 1825].

³ D. 4/89, Simpson's 1826 Report, fo. 6.

Owhyhee proved most helpful, for it enabled McLoughlin to conclude that "there must be a good deal of business done on the Coast if there were six vessels this year on it as Captain Kelly informed our people, and if he could do business sufficient to pay the expence of his vessel and the expence of another bringing him his supplies."¹ Kelly had tried to discourage the Hudson's Bay Company by telling McKenzie that the prices demanded by the natives for their furs were ruinously high; but, as McLoughlin astutely remarked, "if he had the number of Sea Otters on board he mentioned it is impossible he could at the price he said have carried Goods in his Small Vessel to pay for them and it is but reasonable to suppose he must have paid much less . . ."²

McLoughlin also hit upon the fact that the Nass River region was one of the great trading centres of the Northwest Coast. He reported to London that "more Inland Furs" were "traded at Nass than any other place on the coast". This being so, he considered it highly probable that there was "some water communication with the Interior there", which might well be of great service to the Company.³

Finally, McLoughlin felt very strongly that in order to carry on the coastal trade effectively it would be essential always to have a substantial reserve of goods on hand. He therefore suggested that the outfit required should always be sent to the Columbia a full year in advance. This would provide against contingencies, such as the possible loss of a supply ship; and there was the further point that it was impossible to estimate the future needs of the coastal trade with any accuracy, as the volume of trade and price levels might vary widely from season to season, depending upon the competition met with, and other factors.

The three essentials for the coast trade were ships, men, and goods. To meet the first need, McLoughlin commenced construction of two small wooden vessels at Fort Vancouver. The 30-ton sloop *Broughton* was launched on August 7, 1826.⁴ She was too small to venture far, but proved useful on the Columbia River, and as a tender to the annual supply ships. The 60-ton schooner *Vancouver* was delayed for lack of proper material with which to caulk her seams. In the end it was found necessary to replank her hull, and she does not seem to have been ready

¹ D. 4/119, fo. 44, McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1826.

² D. 4/6, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, October 6, 1825. See p. 18.

³ *Ibid.*, see p. 19.

⁴ B. 223/b/2, fo. 17d., McLoughlin to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders, August 8, 1826.

for service until 1828. As this suggests, shipbuilding at Fort Vancouver was not a great success, and thereafter the vessels required were either purchased or built in England.

Meanwhile two trading seasons had slipped by, and little had been accomplished on the Coast. In 1826 McLoughlin held men in readiness to augment the crew of the supply ship, upon the assumption that she would be sent on a trading voyage; but the *Dryad* appeared so late in the season that it was impracticable to send her northward. The only notable event of the year was the arrival, with the autumn brigade, of Lieut. Æmilius Simpson, R.N., who had been sent out from England to take command of the trading vessel which the Committee intended to send out and leave permanently on the coast. The vessel in question was the famous schooner *Cadboro*, which arrived in company with the *William and Ann* in the spring of 1827. By that time McLoughlin was busy with plans for the founding of Fort Langley, on the Fraser River. He hoped to use the *William and Ann* for this purpose, but she was still commanded by Captain Hanwell, who, true to form, refused to co-operate and perform the service. McLoughlin had no alternative but to send the *Cadboro*, and as she had to remain at Fort Langley until the new post was built and placed in a state of defence, she was able to spend no more than a few weeks trading on the Coast. She secured few furs, and one of her crew was murdered on Vancouver Island by the natives. McLoughlin wrote to Simpson: "From the short time the *Cadboro* was on the Coast we acquired very little additional knowledge of the Trade, but we have a shocking proof of its hazardous nature and that a Vessel must be strongly manned to insure the safety of the Crew."¹

Amongst the problems McLoughlin had to consider was that of securing seamen for the *Cadboro* and other vessels. A solution was proposed by Lieut. Simpson, who suggested that the crew of the annual supply ship should be engaged on terms "obliging themselves to Exchange into the Vessel Employed upon the coast if Required . . ."² McLoughlin approved of the plan, and asked the Governor and Committee to engage sailors upon these terms. This was done, and in later years crew members were transferred as required from one service to the other.

Less simple was the supply problem. Years passed before McLoughlin's plea for a year's outfit in advance was answered effectively, and in the interval he was short of goods even for current requirements. As a result it was impossible to outfit the *Cadboro* until

¹ D. 4/121, fo. 33d., McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1828.

² B. 223/b/3, fo. 12, Lieut. Simpson to McLoughlin, June 23, 1827.

the supply ship arrived from England, by which time the trading season on the coast was well advanced, and American vessels had made off with many of the furs. As late as July of 1828 McLoughlin was compelled to report to the Governor and Committee: "I am sorry I cannot give your Honors any additional information relative to the Coasting Trade. Indeed we can never do any thing in that branch of the business till we have the Outfit a year in advance so as to be able to dispatch the Vessel on it in March . . ." ¹

The shortage of goods had one interesting result—it left the *Cadboro* free for employment otherwise than in the fur trade. Thus in November, 1827, the schooner left the Columbia River for Monterey, partly to secure a supply of salt, and partly to ascertain if there were any demand for salmon and timber, both of which abounded in the vicinity of Fort Vancouver. Small trial shipments of salt salmon had been sent to England for years, but in every instance the fish had deteriorated due to the length of the voyage.² There was no danger of this happening on the short passage to Monterey; and Lieut. Simpson reported that he could secure \$30. per bbl. of 250 lbs. for salmon there. Planks he found were in good demand at \$40 to \$50 per thousand feet. This information encouraged McLoughlin to pack what salmon he could, when salt and labour were available, both at Fort Vancouver and at Fort Langley, on the Fraser. He likewise turned his attention to the production of deals, and in 1828 had "a Small Saw Mill a going". This was situated on a stream some four or five miles up the Columbia River from Fort Vancouver, at a spot where traces of the dam and machinery may still be seen.

In 1827, during her first visit to the Fraser River, Chief Factor James McMillan, who was in charge of Fort Langley, remarked that the *Cadboro* was "very lame in the way of defence to be on such a Coast as this".³ Governor Simpson stated the case still more emphatically in 1828: "The *Cadboro* is quite unfit for the Trade, there are hundreds of War Canoes, on the Coast, longer & higher out of the Water than she is, carrying from 40 to 50 men each."⁴ Though she was to have a long

¹ B. 223/b/4, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, July 10, 1828. See pp. 61-2.

² Cf. Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 240, 252. Governor and Committee to Chief Factors in charge, Columbia, July 22, 1824, and same to same, July 27, 1825.

³ D. 4/121, fo. 16d., McMillan to McLoughlin, September 15, 1827.

⁴ Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 301, Simpson to William Smith, November 17, 1828.

career in the service of the Company, the *Cadboro* was of only 70 tons, and was too small to impress the natives. McLoughlin was anxious to secure a vessel comparable in size to the annual supply ships—that is to say, of about 200 tons—“as, being so much larger, she would have a more imposing appearance in the Eyes of the Natives & being so much higher out of the water would not run such danger of being Boarded as the *Cadboro*’ & would allow a freer intercourse with the Natives—Without which trade cannot be carried on . . .”¹ Unknown to McLoughlin, the Committee had reached much the same conclusion, and their fall dispatch of 1828 outlined the fashion in which they proposed in future to conduct the coastal trade. Three ships were to be employed, two of which would make the annual voyages from and to London, while the third would remain on the coast. The vessels would be interchanged when refits were required, and it was intended that they should all be of about the same size, in order that a single store of spars, etc., would suffice. To inaugurate the scheme the *William and Ann* would sail outward accompanied by the *Ganymede*. The former would remain on the coast, to replace the *Cadboro*.²

In view of the hostility with which he later greeted the famous *Beaver*, it is interesting to note that about this time McLoughlin himself suggested the use of steamers on the rivers and the coast. Thus in 1826 he wrote to Simpson: “If it was possible to get the model of the teamboat [*sic*] sent to Red River in 1823 from Montreal and two sets of iron machinery from England, we could build two boats of the kind, one for this River [the Columbia], another for Frasers river to tow the [annual supply] Vessel to and from the Establishment.”³ A year later his proposal had grown from the idea of a tow boat to that of a steamship sufficiently large to engage in the coastal trade. Writing once more to Simpson he noted how “remarkably well adapted” the waters inside Vancouver Island were “to carrying on the business with a small vessel” and added: “I am of opinion hereafter a small steam boat will be found the best adapted to carry on that trade and perhaps that of the whole Coast.”⁴

¹ B. 223/b/4, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, July 10, 1828. See p. 62.

² A. 6/22, fo. 10, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, September 3, 1828.

³ D. 4/119, fo. 45d., McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1826.

⁴ D. 4/120, fo. 53d., McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1827.

Governor Simpson left York Factory on July 12, 1828, bound for the Pacific Coast on a second inspection trip. September found him in New Caledonia, where he met William Connolly, the Chief Factor in charge, at Fort St. James on the 17th. A week later he started southward, and after a side trip to Kamloops he made the famous transit through the Fraser Canyon which has already been noted. On October 10 he was at Fort Langley, and on the evening of the 25th reached Fort Vancouver.

Although the Columbia had failed to realize all the high expectations he had had in 1825, the detailed report which he prepared for the Governor and Committee in March, 1829, contained nothing but praise for McLoughlin. In particular he was pleased with the progress of Fort Vancouver. Its Indian trade was not large, but it had attained the main object for which it had been designed, "that of rendering ourselves independent of Foreign aid in regard to the means of subsistence . . ." Eatables and drinkables no longer filled the precious space in the holds of the supply ships arriving from England. The farms at Fort Vancouver, Fort Colville, and elsewhere, made that unnecessary. "In short," Simpson wrote from Fort Vancouver, "never did a change of system, and a change of management, produce such obvious advantages in any part of the Indian country, as those which the present state of this Establishment in particular, and of the Columbia Department as a whole, at this moment exhibits."¹

Simpson was impressed by the visible improvement in the Columbia, not by its accounts. It is not yet possible to supplement his impression by detailed accounts, for the difficulty of consulting certain records under war conditions makes it necessary to postpone consideration of the actual financial results of McLoughlin's efforts in the Columbia. But a few preliminary notes may be given here. Hitherto, estimates and exaggeration have distorted the facts of the matter at every turn. For example, one biography of McLoughlin states that "the London value of the yearly gathering of furs, in the Oregon Country, varied from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000" for many years,² whereas in actual fact it never distantly approached such sums.

Even McLoughlin himself was not guiltless of exaggeration. In August, 1825, a few days after he received word of the desertion of twenty-three of Ogden's freemen in the Snake Country, he stated in a

¹ D. 4/93, Simpson's 1829 Report, fos. 48d., 49d.

² F. V. Holman, *Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon*, Cleveland, 1907, p. 29.

letter that "by the desertion of these Men" the Company would lose "Furs to the amount of about Three thousand pounds [sterling] and their future Services."¹ But we happen to know that the loss really amounted to no more than seven hundred beaver skins. Moreover, McLoughlin's own estimate of the cost of the Snake expedition returns for 1824-25 is available, and if we assume that the cost to the Company of the stolen skins was equal to that of those Ogden brought safely home, the actual loss was no more than £357 5s. 10d.² The market value of the 700 skins in London would probably have been in the vicinity of £1,100. It should be added, however, that McLoughlin's exaggeration was very moderate compared to the valuation placed on these same furs when they were finally disposed of by the Americans. By 1833 the Gardner-Ogden incident had grown to such a degree that even Nathaniel Wyeth believed that the furs secured "amounted to about 130 packs or 13,000 lbs., worth at that time about \$75,000".³ Later estimates soared as high as \$200,000, and the furs were credited with having made the fortune of William Ashley.⁴

From time to time in his letters McLoughlin states with seeming definiteness the profit realized on an expedition, or by the operation of a post over a specified period; but the sums mentioned are in reality little better than rough estimates. The wages of the servants employed were frequently the only item in the accounts which McLoughlin knew with absolute accuracy. True, he knew the invoice value of the goods sent from England to the Columbia in the annual supply ships, but that value was subject to a so-called "advance" on the prime cost which was intended to cover the cost of freight, insurance, and kindred items. This advance was set by the Governor and Committee at 70 per cent. in 1821, but on the plea of McLoughlin, supported by Simpson, was reduced in 1829 to 33½ per cent. The difference this change might make in the accounts of a post is obvious, yet quite as obvious is the fact that it would be a difference on paper only. Indeed, when making the reduction, the Governor and Committee themselves remarked that although the lower rate would "not probably cover the

¹ Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 254, McLoughlin to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders, August 10, 1825.

² McLoughlin placed the cost of a beaver skin at 10s. 2½d.

³ *Sources of the History of Oregon*, I, F. G. Young (ed.), "The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, 1831-36", Eugene, Oregon, 1899, p. 74.

⁴ See H. M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, New York, 1935, I, p. 273-4. Compare *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXV, pp. 102-3.

charges", this was "a matter of little importance as the expenses actually incurred, be they more or less", would be charged to the fur trade.¹ As early as 1827 Simpson authorized McLoughlin to reduce the advance from 70 per cent. to 50 per cent. when taking the annual inventories.² On the other side of the ledger, McLoughlin could place only an approximate valuation on the furs received, for, in the final analysis, everything depended upon the state of the market when the furs were actually disposed of in London. Priced catalogues were usually sent to McLoughlin, but the length of time which elapsed between the taking of a skin and the receipt at Fort Vancouver of the notification of the price it actually fetched in the London market might be as long as three years. For purposes of calculation McLoughlin frequently valued a large beaver at 30s. 6d. and a small skin at 13s. 6d.; but he could deal only in approximations. Thus in the ten-year period 1827-36, a seasoned beaver skin brought on the average 37s. 10d.; but within that period the price ranged from 32s. 10d. to 48s. 11d., and the variation from one season to the next was upon one occasion as much as 12s. 5d.³ It is scarcely to be wondered at that the estimated profit of a post was often termed the "apparent gain".

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Simpson remained at Fort Vancouver until March 25, 1829. In the preceding few weeks events occurred which added very materially to McLoughlin's difficulties. The supply vessel *William and Ann*, inward bound from England, was wrecked on the bar of the Columbia, with the loss of all her crew and cargo; and two American trading ships entered the river with the intention of making a prolonged stand against the Hudson's Bay Company there.

The loss of the *William and Ann* was a crippling blow to McLoughlin's plans for the coastal trade. It left him once again without an adequate supply of goods—"destroyed all our measure of precaution", as he himself expressed it. In addition it was suspected that the crew of the vessel had been massacred by the Clatsop Indians, and this suspicion strained relations with the natives at the very moment that an alternative market for their furs was at hand. In June, McLoughlin received positive evidence that the Indians had in their possession goods from the *William*

¹ Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 317-18, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, October 28, 1829.

² D. 4/90, fo. 100, Simpson to McLoughlin, July 9, 1827.

³ Prices quoted from A. 7/1 ("Locked Private Letter Book"), fo. 74.

and *Ann*, and he felt it necessary to send an expedition to demand their return. The property recovered was negligible, but the bodies of several of the missing crew were found, and the evidence collected satisfied McLoughlin that the men had met death by drowning, and had not been molested by the natives.¹

The plundering of the *William and Ann* was not the only trouble which the natives caused McLoughlin at this time. He had reported to Simpson on his arrival that Jedediah Smith, one of the leading figures in the American fur trade, had arrived at Fort Vancouver in August with three men. The four were the only survivors of a party of nineteen which had set out from California and which had been attacked by Indians at the Umpqua River. A "Southern" Expedition was being outfitted at the time, under Chief Trader McLeod, and McLoughlin hurried its departure, and instructed McLeod to do his utmost to punish the murderers and recover Smith's property. McLeod's journal of this expedition, which is preserved in the Company's Archives, was printed in 1934, together with the portion of Simpson's report which relates to Jedediah Smith, and other relevant documents.² McLeod got in touch with the offending Indians without difficulty, but as it was clear that the conduct of Smith's own men had in great part provoked the attack, he took no action against them. However, he did insist upon the restitution of Smith's property, and Simpson states that he recovered "from 7 to 800 Beaver & Otter Skins in a very damaged state, 40 Horses, and a few other articles of little value".³ These Simpson later purchased on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company; and after spending the winter at Fort Vancouver, Smith himself travelled in the spring to Fort Colville, and thence proceeded to the Kootenay country and the Snake River, where he found his partner, William Sublette.

It is interesting to note that McLoughlin's action in sending McLeod to recover Smith's furs, while highly approved by Simpson and the Governor and Committee, was less to the liking of his colleagues. "... This was not a very popular measure either with men or gentle-

¹ The McLoughlin letter-book in the Economics Record Library, Reed College, Portland, contains a cancelled draft of a letter to the Governor and Committee in which he expresses the belief that the men were murdered. When he changed his opinion, after the return of the expedition, the letter was re-written under the date August 5, 1829. See pp. 71-3. Simpson remained convinced that a massacre had occurred.

² See M. S. Sullivan, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith* (Santa Ana, Calif., 1934), pp. 112-51.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

men", one of them wrote, "as it was thought we would have difficulty enough to hold our own being already at war to the northward but the Dr. would have his way . . ." ¹ The reference was to the clash with the Clallum Indians, of Puget Sound, which had followed the murder of Alexander McKenzie and the men who were returning with him from Fort Langley in January, 1828. A strong punitive expedition under McLeod had attacked the Indians in June, which was as soon as it was possible to muster a force sufficient for the purpose.

The same night that the *William and Ann* struck the bar the American brig *Convoy* entered the Columbia River to join the *Owhyhee*, Captain John Dominis, which had arrived late in February. ² Both were owned by Josiah Marshall and Dixey Wildes of Boston, who had long been interested in the trade to the Northwest Coast. The *Owhyhee* had paid a brief visit to the Columbia in 1827, but she had remained only ten days, and had departed, leaving McLoughlin under the impression that she had come chiefly to secure wood and spars. ³ Her return with a consort in 1829, and her announced intention of remaining indefinitely, were a rude shock, for McLoughlin had hitherto "considered the opposition as merely coasters who put in to collect a few Stragling Skins", and he "certainly had no Idea they intended to sit down and contend the trade with us." ⁴

The challenge came at an awkward moment, for McLoughlin was even more short of trading goods than usual, owing to the loss of the *William and Ann*. The Americans were well aware of this, for on March 26, 1829, Captain Thompson of the *Convoy* wrote to Josiah Marshall: "Our prospects this Season depends much upon the arrival of an Ship from England, which is daily expected. Should she not arrive our prospects this Season will be tolerable good, as they [the Hudson's Bay Company] have but few goods here for the present." Reporting the loss of the *William and Ann* he added: "This unfortunate accident will be favourable for us this Season as she had a valuable Cargo on board." ⁵

¹ *Washington Historical Quarterly*, I, p. 257, William Todd to Edward Ermatinger, July 15, 1829.

² On the whole episode see *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXIV, F. W. Howay, "Brig Owhyhee in the Columbia, 1827", pp. 324-9. *Ibid.*, XXXV, F. W. Howay, "The Brig Owhyhee in the Columbia 1829-30", pp. 10-21.

³ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, pp. 324-9. See also B. 223/b/3, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, July 6, 1827. See p. 45.

⁴ B. 223/b/5, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, August 5, 1829. See p. 78.

⁵ *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXVIII, S. E. Morison, "New England and the Opening of the Columbia River Salmon Trade, 1830", p. 122.

Using what goods he had, McLoughlin sent off small parties in all directions, in an effort to intercept the natives and secure their furs before they came in contact with the Americans; but in spite of these efforts the Company's trading tariff collapsed overnight. Even before Simpson's departure the price of a $2\frac{1}{2}$ point blanket had fallen from five beaver skins to two, and that of a gun from eighteen skins to six. A few days later the rate fell to one beaver per blanket. Early in May the anxiously-awaited supply vessel *Ganymede* arrived, after narrowly escaping a similar fate to that of the *William and Ann*. Had she been lost, McLoughlin's plight would indeed have been a serious one. Even with his store of goods replenished the competition was proving serious, for in June Captain Dominis was able to report to his owners that he had already collected five hundred beaver and two hundred land otter skins.¹ Although the *Owhyhee* made a trading voyage northward, and the *Convoy* wintered in the Sandwich Islands, one ship or the other always remained in the Columbia and competed with the Company for furs all the way from the sea to the Dalles. When they finally left the Columbia after seventeen months, in July, 1830, and the coast some months later, they took with them 2,900 land skins, principally otter and beaver.²

It should be noted, however, that McLoughlin had made determined and successful efforts to prevent the lowered trading tariff from spreading far inland. At first Samuel Black, who was in charge at Walla Walla, wished to reduce his prices, but McLoughlin insisted that they be maintained at the usual level. In June, 1830, when the Americans were preparing to leave, McLoughlin wrote to Black: "... By your firmly keeping up the prices at W[alla]. W[alla]. (as settled upon) in spite of all the means employed by the natives to make you lower them, you prevented the Trade of the Interior being Spoilt."³ Thus the Columbia fulfilled its primary purpose of absorbing the shock of competition, and of protecting the regions beyond it, in which the Hudson's Bay Company enjoyed a monopoly.

It was typical of McLoughlin that after a few months he and Captain Dominis were on friendly terms. In October, 1829, one of the mates on the American vessels became dangerously ill. He was removed to Fort Vancouver, where he remained several months, under McLoughlin's care. The log of the *Owhyhee* shows that Dominis secured lumber from the Company, and also a present of potatoes.⁴ Dominis also opened

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

³ B. 223/b/6, fo. 3d., McLoughlin to Black, June 29, 1830.

⁴ *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXV, 15.

negotiations for the sale of his trading goods, but no terms satisfactory to both parties could be arrived at.¹

McLoughlin did not exaggerate when he stated that the Americans had caused him "an immensity of trouble". They had forced him to pay five times the usual price for furs, which placed him once again in the position he dreaded: "...Stores nearly empty, dependent for a supply on the arrival of the Vessel to which if an accident happened, our Trade on this side of the Mountains would be ruined."² Nor did conditions at once return to normal. In October, 1830, McLoughlin explained to the Governor and Committee that he had "been obliged to Keep our parties running to Indians as much as ever to prevent their having any number of Skins in the event of any coaster coming here".³ Considering the circumstances, the Company was able to restore its tariff in the lower Columbia at a surprisingly early date. The price of a blanket was raised to two made beaver at Fort Vancouver in January, 1831; and the following June McLoughlin informed Archibald McDonald, then in charge of Fort Langley, that the price of guns—which the Company endeavoured to keep at a high figure for reasons of security—was back to twenty skins.⁴

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The effort of competing with the *Owhyhee* and *Convoy* had absorbed the time of so many men that most of McLoughlin's projects had had to be postponed. Nor did matters improve greatly in 1830. Early in May another supply ship, the *Isabella*, was wrecked on the bar of the Columbia, and although her crew was saved and most of her cargo salvaged, the misfortune cost much in time and labour. More serious was the outbreak of intermittent fever, apparently malarial in character, which laid up many of the Company's servants and swept with devastating effect through the Indian villages. In some instances scarcely a native survived, and in October, 1830, McLoughlin reported that it had "carried off three fourths of the Indn. population in our vicinity".⁵ At Fort Vancouver itself there were at one time seventy-five on the sick list. This

¹ See Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 323-4. McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1830.

² *Ibid.*, p. 324.

³ B. 223/b/6, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, October 11, 1830. See p. 92.

⁴ B. 223/b/7, fo. 1d., McLoughlin to McDonald, June 4, 1831.

⁵ B. 223/b/6, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, October 11, 1830. See p. 88.

fever was to plague the lower Columbia annually for some years to come,¹ and though deaths among the whites were surprisingly few, it played havoc with the best-laid plans.

Chief amongst the projects thus delayed was the development of the coastal trade. This had become of importance to the Company, because the sea otter, long the mainstay of the maritime traders, had become scarce, and the traders—as the visit of the *Owhyhee* and *Convoy* to the Columbia had so impressively demonstrated—had taken to gathering land skins instead. Most of those obtained on the Northern coast originated in the interior, and in the Company's view the trading ships were thus poaching indirectly upon its preserves. Then again, the probability that the Company would sooner or later have to abandon the Columbia placed it under the necessity, in Simpson's words, of "being firmly established on a navigable communication between the Coast & the Interior" elsewhere.² The Fraser River had proven to be an impracticable route, and as a consequence the Company was compelled to look to the Northwest coast, where it was believed that several large rivers emptied into the sea. By November, 1828, Simpson had reached a tentative conclusion as to where the projected post should be. Writing from Fort Vancouver, he stated that it was "necessary for the Salvation of our interior Trade in the event of our being excluded from the Columbia, that we should have a Settlement on the Babine (or Simpsons River) situated in Lat. 54 [the Nass River of to-day] at the Port of Nass which is the grand mart of the Coast both for Sea Otters and Land Skins".³ In a subsequent report he expressed the belief that a post at Nass "would intercept every Skin that passes from the interior by that channel, and thereby remove the main attraction to the Americans".⁴ As these excerpts indicate, the Company hoped to combine its two projects. Simpson envisioned a combined post and depot which would both intercept furs and be the starting-point of a practicable transport route from the coast to New Caledonia.

The Company's rivals in the coastal trade were the Russians and the Americans. With the former, represented by the Russian American Company, the Hudson's Bay Company had much in common. Both

¹ For example see B. 223/b/7, fo. 5d., McLoughlin to Francis Heron, September 9, 1831: "The fever and ague is raging with as great violence as last year, a few days ago we had 68 on the sick list but at present the number is less."

² Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 300, Simpson to William Smith, November 17, 1828.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ D. 4/93, Simpson's 1829 Report, fo. 56d.

were seeking, by means of ships and trading posts, to exploit the fur resources of their respective regions. Both had long-term interests in the trade. It was otherwise with the Americans, who depended upon ships alone. Since they were merely birds of passage, seeking to plunder the coast of its furs, they were relatively indifferent to consequences. Arms, ammunition, and liquor were their stock-in-trade, in spite of the fact that this traffic was forbidden by the convention of 1824-25 between Russia and the United States and Russia and Great Britain. It mattered little to them if they left the natives dangerous and debauched. Moreover, the Americans did not secure all their profits directly from the fur trade. Their visits to the coast were part of an elaborate commercial cycle which linked New England with the Sandwich Islands, Northwest America, and China. They conducted a commerce in supplies. Owing to their remoteness from their homeland, the Russians frequently found it necessary or expedient to purchase goods from the Americans, in spite of the fact that the very ships that made delivery at Sitka usually competed later with their own traders on the coast.

Governor Simpson hoped to take advantage of these circumstances, and in 1829 he sent Lieut. Æmilius Simpson to Sitka in the *Cadboro* with a letter addressed to the Manager of the Russian American Company. "Up to the present time", Simpson wrote, "our attention on this side of the continent has been directed to matters relating to the interior lands, but now we have in view the extension of our commerce to the coast and the establishment of a house near the northern frontier." Having thus notified the Russians that the Hudson's Bay Company proposed to compete in the coastal trade, Simpson next offered to solve their supply problem. The items mentioned included "English goods"—"from 50 to 100 tons or as much more as may be necessary"—as well as "from 4000 to 5000 bushels of all kinds of cereals" and "8000 to 10,000 hams and salt meats . . ." ¹ Simpson hoped that these supplies would make the Russians independent of the Americans, and that this might enable the two companies to join forces and drive them from the coast.

The Governor at Sitka had no authority to do more than show a polite interest in Simpson's proposals, but he "suggested that the most expeditious and direct method to accomplish the ends proposed" would be for the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company to negotiate directly with the Russian American Company in St. Petersburg. ² This

¹ *Appendix to the Case of the United States*, p. 260, Simpson to the Manager, Russian American Company, Fort Vancouver, March 20, 1829.

² Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 314, Lieut. Simpson to McLoughlin, October 1, 1829.

the Committee proceeded to do, and they went so far as to undertake to supply the Russians "annually at cost price, regardless of profit, with whatever quantity of English products" they might need.¹ But the response in St. Petersburg was disappointing, and no agreement was reached. Nevertheless neither Simpson nor the Governor and Committee abandoned the proposal, and both seized upon every opportunity to further it until a settlement between the two companies was made in 1839.

McLoughlin was unable to do more in 1829 than send the *Cadboro* to Sitka, but developments of importance to the coastal trade took place in London. Governor Simpson arrived in England in October, and it was doubtless after discussing matters at length with him that the Governor and Committee decided to prosecute the trade "with vigor". The arrangements made toward that end included the creation of a Marine Department, under McLoughlin, of which Lieut. Simpson was to be superintendent. As we shall see, this was not a step of which McLoughlin approved; but he was much pleased by the further provision that it was "to be perfectly understood, that all our Ships and Vessels as well from England as attached to the Country are subject to your [McLoughlin's] orders from the day of arrival at the Columbia until final departure therefrom . . ." ² Thus was settled, once and for all, the vexed question of McLoughlin's authority over ship captains. No less than three vessels were to be sent out to the Columbia, two of which McLoughlin might retain on the coast. As for equipment and supplies, these vessels were to carry the complete outfits of 1831 and 1832, and thereby give McLoughlin "the one years stock constantly in advance" which he needed so sorely.³

Unfortunately matters did not work out quite as intended. The loss of the *Isabella* caused delay, and the outbreak of fever in 1830 left McLoughlin without sufficient able-bodied men to organize an expedition to found a post at Nass Harbour, as planned. In June, however, the brig *Eagle* arrived safely from England, and her cargo, together with the supplies salvaged from the *Isabella*, at last enabled McLoughlin to send a modest expedition northward. "The *Eagle* and two Schooners are off to Nass to examine the place", McLoughlin wrote to John Rowand in August, "and this is the first year since I am here (which

¹ *Appendix to the Case of the United States*, p. 260, William Smith to Chief Manager and Directors, Russian American Company, December 16, 1829.

² A. 6/22, fo. 46, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, October 28, 1829.

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 45d.

you will hardly believe though nevertheless true) in which I had a suitable Outfit for the Trade and in which I have been able to supply our people adequately . . ." ¹ Lieut. Simpson's description of this cruise is printed in Appendix A. ² McLoughlin was pleased with the furs secured, ³ though Simpson himself was more cautious. He pointed out that "the Americans appear to have goods more in demand on this part of the coast than us. Arms & ammunition they sell without limits & ardent spirits in great abundance . . ." To his regret he found himself "under the necessity of selling a quantity of the latter as I found it impossible to trade without it nor do I see how it can well be avoided till opposition is done off the coast." ⁴

In 1831 it was possible, at long last, to advance upon the Northwest Coast in some force. In April Lieut. Simpson sailed in the *Cadboro*, and with him went Peter Skene Ogden, who had been ordered to turn over the command of the Snake expedition to John Work, and to undertake the difficult task of founding the new post at Nass Harbour. This mission Ogden duly carried out, and the new establishment was named Fort Simpson, in honour of the superintendent of the Company's marine. When the fort was sufficiently advanced, the *Cadboro* left on a trading cruise. But her absence was brief, for she returned owing to the serious illness of Lieut. Simpson; and on September 2 he died.

The news of his death reached Fort Vancouver some weeks later, and it is significant that McLoughlin seized the opportunity to reorganize the coast trade in accordance with his own ideas. He had disapproved of the creation of the office of Marine Superintendent, and proceeded to abolish it forthwith. "In the present situation of our affairs we will attach the Coasting trade to Ft. Simpson", he wrote to Ogden on October 16, "you will assume the management of both . . ." ⁵ In later years McLoughlin asserted that he disapproved of such an office because as early as 1831, he came to the conclusion that it would soon be possible to conduct the trade with fewer ships; ⁶ and he did in fact tell Ogden that Fort Simpson "and the two schooners [meaning the *Cadboro* and

¹ D. 4/125, McLoughlin to Rowand, August 3, 1830.

² B. 223/c/1, "Captain Simpson's Report of his voyage to Nass". See Appendix A, pp. 305-13.

³ B. 223/b/6, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, October 11, 1830. See p. 88.

⁴ B. 223/c/1, "Captain Simpson's Report". See pp. 312-13.

⁵ B. 223/b/7, fo. 6, McLoughlin to Ogden, October 16, 1831.

⁶ B. 223/b/10, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, May 28, 1834. See pp. 116 *et seq.*

Vancouver] constantly employed on the Coast ought . . . to suffice for the Coasting trade".¹ Even at this early date a definite prejudice in favour of trading posts, as opposed to trading vessels, can be traced in McLoughlin's correspondence. By the fall of 1831 he was planning a coast depot, and in December he instructed Ogden to select sites for new posts on the Stikine River, and at Port Essington.²

This prejudice is important, for it was to give rise to much friction in later years. McLoughlin's attitude becomes less difficult to understand when one recalls that his experience with sea captains (with the single exception of Lieut. Simpson³) had been consistently unfortunate. Hanwell had failed him in 1825 and again in 1827, as already described. In 1824 Governor Simpson had noted in his journal, when discussing the annual supply ship: "Captn Davidsons talent as a Navigator I know nothing about, but his talent as a Grog Drinker I understand is without parallel and I shall be agreeably surprised if he and his Ship ever reach the Port of Destination." He added that it was "highly important that any Vessel coming on this Voyage should be well officered";⁴ yet in 1826 Davidson was back on the Coast in command of the *Dryad*. In 1829 the *Ganymede* arrived, commanded by Captain Hayne, who proceeded to sell a gun to an Indian chief and trade skins with the natives. McLoughlin was convinced that nothing but the presence of mind of the mate had saved the barque from disaster as she entered the river, and he warned the Governor and Committee that to send Captain Hayne back to the Columbia in charge of a ship would be dangerous.⁵ Like most of the captains in question, Hayne was a drunkard. On the return voyage to England he became deranged, "and after leaving the Sandwich Islands . . . proceeded to Hobartstown Van Diemens land, at which place his conduct was so extremely bad, that the Government Authorities displaced him and sent the Vessel home in charge of another Captain."⁶ Captain Minors, who arrived in the *Dryad* in 1830, was another drunkard

¹ B. 223/b/7, fo. 6, McLoughlin to Ogden, October 16, 1831.

² *Ibid.*, fo. 10d., McLoughlin to Ogden, December 15, 1831.

³ Even Simpson was none too popular in the service. Thus Archibald McDonald, in commenting upon his death, added: "I am sorry to say with you in confidence however that he was not over popular with us . . ." *Washington Hist. Quar.*, I, 265.

⁴ Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 119-20.

⁵ See p. 79.

⁶ A. 6/22, fo. 78, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, November 10, 1830.

who could not account for items missing from the ship's stores, and who attempted to defy McLoughlin's authority and organize a mutiny when ordered to surrender command of his ship to Lieut. Simpson. It is unnecessary to continue the catalogue, other than to add that McLoughlin considered that both the *William and Ann* and the *Isabella* had been lost because of the incompetence or negligence of their commanders. No wonder Governor Simpson, in response to McLoughlin's complaints, reported to the Governor and Committee in 1832 that the coast trade was "miserably lame in effective officers", and asked for men of more ability and better character.¹

Meanwhile Ogden was making headway in the coastal trade. His activities loom large in the reports of Governor Wrangell, of the Russian American Company, who observed his tactics with a mixture of admiration, anxiety, and envy. In May of 1832 Wrangell reported: "Mr. Ogden injured the Americans quite considerably this year in the straits in the following way. . . . he sends three vessels to the straits to such localities where the Americans are putting in and begins to pay twice and three times as much as the Americans who never hold out very long but hasten to leave the place and proceed to another, where they are immediately followed by Ogden's ships." However it is significant that Wrangell added that Ogden had secured only 2,000 beaver, whereas the Americans had traded 12,000, "this success being due to their selling liquors and fire arms".² Though Ogden's returns were undoubtedly greater relatively than these figures suggest, it was clear that the Hudson's Bay Company could not hope to compete with the Americans unless its traders had equally attractive wares to offer. A letter from McLoughlin to Ogden dated December, 1831, admits as much. Referring to the Russians, McLoughlin wrote: "... if they complain of your giving Arms Ammunition and Liquor to the Natives you will tell them that you are obliged to do so in consequence of its being done by the Americans, and to prove to all that the Hudsons Bay Company is averse to supplying these Indians . . . you will propose to the Americans collectively to discountenance the issuing and selling of these articles to which if they accede you will also conform."³ Such an arrangement proved impossible; and in May, 1832, Wrangell reported that Ogden had begun

¹ D. 4/99, Simpson's 1832 Report, fo. 14d.

² *Alaskan Tribunal Boundary, Appendix to the Counter Case of the United States*, pp. 1-2, Wrangell to Directors, Russian American Company, May 6, 1832.

³ B. 223/b/7, fo. 10d., McLoughlin to Ogden, December 15, 1831.

that season to trade some liquor to the Indians, "not seeing any other means of crowding the Americans out of the straits", but that he had abstained so far from selling them firearms.¹ No secret was made of the fact, and in August Governor Simpson informed the Governor and Committee that arms and liquor were essential commodities in the coast trade: "Without these articles we can have no chance of success, we must therefore either abandon the contest altogether, or follow the example of our opponents by the unlimited sale of them to the natives."²

McLoughlin now found himself faced with a shipping problem. The schooner *Vancouver*, under the command of Captain Kipling, ran ashore and was so badly strained that it was obvious that she would be out of service for a season. McLoughlin once again blamed the accident upon the incompetence of the captain: "... see what the Company pays for their servants ignorance of the Coast!" he wrote in July, 1832, "Mr. Ogden writes me there are three harbours in the vicinity of the place where the *Vancouver* was driven back, & to which Capt. Kipling might have gone as he had a fair wind to bear up to them had he been acquainted with them."³ Much as McLoughlin disliked shipping, it was desirable to replace the *Vancouver*, if for no better reason than the fact that the wages of the crew left in idleness totalled £460 per annum. It so happened that the Company had funds to its credit in the Sandwich Islands, and McLoughlin decided to send Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson, who had arrived in the Columbia in 1831, to Honolulu to see if a suitable vessel were available there.

The choice fell upon the brig *Lama*, of 145 tons, which Finlayson secured for no more than £1,250. This was so very cheap that before he sailed he was offered £1,750 for her. Quite as important, at McLoughlin's suggestion Finlayson engaged the *Lama's* commander, Captain W. H. McNeill, and his mates, whose intimate knowledge of the Northwest Coast and experience of the trade made them most valuable recruits. The *Lama* was American built, and McNeill was an American citizen; but McLoughlin was weary of incompetence and risked the consequences of purchasing the vessel and engaging her captain without the knowledge and consent of his superiors. Both he and Finlayson expected trouble. "Tho' this step has been taken with the purest—& I can say wisest motives", Finlayson confided to a friend,

¹ *Appendix to the Counter Case of the United States*, p. 1, Wrangell to Directors, Russian American Company, May 6, 1832.

² D. 4/99, Simpson's 1832 Report, fo. 15.

³ B. 223/b/8, fo. 10-10d., McLoughlin to Finlayson, July 17, 1832.

"yet I tremble for the light in which it will be viewed by the Gov. & Council, and I can only add, that not one individual member thereof, if here, but would have been convinced of its necessity and ultimate benefit to the concern. The Governor & Committee will I think . . . view them in the same light with ourselves, & approve of them . . ." ¹ As it turned out, the reactions to the deal were just the reverse of what Finlayson expected. Simpson approved the purchase in advance, and justified it upon the ground that lack of shipping explained the Company's slow progress in the coastal trade.² On the other hand, the Governor and Committee took McLoughlin severely to task, although most of the blame was placed quite unjustly upon Finlayson, who did no more than carry out McLoughlin's instructions. The engagement of American citizens was considered highly imprudent, and McLoughlin was told that the sooner he could "consistently get quit of these people the better . . ." ³ Nothing daunted, McLoughlin in reply stated his case in detail, and in 1834 he had the satisfaction of receiving an assurance that his explanation had been "perfectly satisfactory".⁴ Captain McNeill's long and honourable career in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company is sufficient proof of the soundness of McLoughlin's judgment; but it is important to observe for how long a time the matter was a source of annoyance and anxiety in London and at Fort Vancouver. It was in July, 1832, that McLoughlin suggested to Finlayson that he should purchase the *Lama* and engage McNeill, and it was not until October, 1834, that the Governor and Committee's approval reached the Columbia.

Captain McNeill and the *Lama* were important aids in the coastal trade, but McLoughlin became increasingly opposed to the employment of more than a bare minimum of shipping. Trading posts were, in his opinion, much more effective agencies in the long run. Finlayson reflected McLoughlin's view when he wrote in March, 1832: "... We have it in mind to extend our settlements along the coast, the best and most judicious plan we can adopt for the purpose of wresting that trade from the grasp of the Americans who have so far monopolized it." ⁵

¹ G. P. de T. Glazebrook (ed.), *The Hargrave Correspondence* 1821-1843, Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1938, p. 106, Finlayson to Hargrave, February 21, 1833.

² D. 4/99, Simpson's 1832 Report, fo. 16-16d.

³ A. 6/23, fo. 22d., Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, May 1, 1833.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 62, same to same, February 1, 1834. See pp. 116-7, 119.

⁵ *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XI, 252, Finlayson to John McLeod, March 12, 1832.

McLoughlin felt that he could easily justify this policy in terms of pounds, shillings, and pence. More posts, he remarked to Ogden, would make fewer ships necessary: "An important object—as a land Establishment can be maintained at much less expense; & the Company is never in want of a Gentleman to take charge of a Land Establishment, but it is extremely difficult to find Naval Officers to manage the coasting Trade."¹ Trading posts were not subject to such charges as insurance, whereas in 1833 the insured value "on Vessels attached to the Columbia Department", not including the *Lama*, amounted to no less than £10,300.² Quite as important, a post made a much greater impression on the Indians than a trading vessel. "As a proof of the influence acquired by establishing posts", McLoughlin pointed out to the Governor and Committee in 1834, "we have only to observe that it required the protection of a vessel and forty men to erect Fort Langley and at present a clerk and ten men to do the business of the place".³

Holding these views, McLoughlin pushed forward a building programme which was designed to complete a whole chain of posts, stretching from the Columbia to Russian America. Two new establishments were built in 1833. Fort McLoughlin, on Milbanke Sound, was designed to intercept furs in an area too far south to come under the influence of Fort Simpson. Fort Nisqually, at the southern end of Puget Sound, had a different purpose, for it was intended to be both a farming centre and a shipping depot. It could be reached overland with comparative ease from Fort Vancouver, and it would enable the coasting vessels to avoid the longer ocean voyage to the mouth of the Columbia. McLoughlin asserted in 1834, in a letter to the Governor and Committee, with Forts Nisqually, Langley, McLoughlin, and Simpson in mind, "that four posts when established will be kept up at less expense than one Vessel", and backed up his statement with facts and figures.⁴ He and Ogden were already planning the bold step of founding a fifth post on the Stikine River, the mouth of which lay in Russian waters. In the fall of 1833 Ogden had taken advantage of the free navigation promised by the convention of 1825, had ascended the river beyond the ten-league Russian territorial limit, and had there taken formal possession of a building site upon which he proposed to erect a post in 1834.⁵

¹ B. 223/b/8, McLoughlin to Ogden, October 5, 1832. See Appendix A, p. 315.

² A. 6/23, fo. 28d., Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, June 5, 1833.

³ B. 223/b/10, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, May 28, 1834. See p. 119.

⁴ *Ibid.* See p. 118.

⁵ *Appendix to the Case of the United States*, p. 272, Ogden to McLoughlin, December 20, 1834.

Both Simpson and the Governor and Committee approved these plans, but they wished to couple with them a parallel expansion of the coastal trading fleet. In particular, Simpson had become enamoured with the suggestion made tentatively by McLoughlin in 1827 that a steamship should be acquired. He believed that it "would afford us incalculable advantages over the Americans, as we could look into every Creek and cove while they [being in sailing vessels] were confined to a harbour by head winds and calms . . ." ¹ When asked for his opinion of Simpson's proposal, McLoughlin, whose views had changed greatly in the last few years, replied that he believed steam boats were "very expensive", and added: "It is true they are the most convenient Vessels we could have on the Coast, but at present with the number of Vessels we have I am of opinion we ought not to open a new Channel of expense . . ." ² But Simpson continued to think otherwise, and in 1834 the Governor and Committee accepted his suggestion and ordered the hull and machinery for a steam vessel.

In spite of the difficulties encountered, and the substantial expenditure incurred, the Governor and Committee seem to have been satisfied with the results of the coastal trade, as they were known to them at the end of 1833. "We are anxious to prosecute this branch of the business with vigour", they informed McLoughlin, "and as you will now have five Vessels . . . we entertain sanguine hopes that a large proportion of the Skins collected on the Coast will fall into our hands". ³ When the accounts were made up they showed a loss of nearly £1,700, but London remained unperturbed. Many of the items included were nominal, and the Committee expressed appreciation of the exertions of McLoughlin, Ogden, Finlayson, and others "in this important enterprise, from which we anticipate great advantage to the Fur trade". ⁴

One further point should be noted. Though little space is devoted to the subject in the correspondence which passed between McLoughlin, Simpson, and the Governor and Committee, the need for a new travel route from the coast to the interior was never lost sight of. In London it seems to have been assumed that as soon as the post at Nass Harbour was established, an effort would be made to follow the course of Simpson's (the Nass) River inland. Thus in September, 1832, the Governor and

¹ D. 4/99, Simpson's 1832 Report, fo. 17.

² B. 223/b/9, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, August 31, 1833. See p. 111.

³ A. 6/23, fo. 49, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, December 4, 1833.

⁴ *Ibid.*, February 1, 1834.

Committee remarked to McLoughlin that they expected "to learn by the next dispatches that the communication with the Interior has been satisfactorily ascertained".¹ But no such communication from Fort Simpson proved possible, and one reason for McLoughlin's desire to see a post established on the Stikine River was the hope that that stream might furnish the much-desired route to the fur lands north of New Caledonia, and incidentally to that district itself.

viii

It will be recalled that as early as 1827 McLoughlin had suggested that a trade in timber and salmon might be developed between the Columbia, the Sandwich Islands, California, and other centres. So far as shipping was concerned the coastal fur trade was seasonal, and the vessels and their crews could be employed elsewhere for a portion of the year. Moreover, McLoughlin felt that a supplementary source of profit would greatly strengthen the hand of the Company against its competitors. Writing to the Governor and Committee while the *Convoy* and *Owhyhee* were opposing him in the Columbia, McLoughlin remarked: "... we must avail ourselves of all the resources of this Country if we have to Compete for the trade of it with the Americans as we may depend they will turn every thing they possibly can to account."²

Simpson not only endorsed this view, but believed that the timber trade might prove as profitable to the Company as the coastal trade in furs. His report, written at Fort Vancouver and dated March 1, 1829, shows that he and McLoughlin discussed the matter in detail during his second visit to the Columbia. Simpson noted that even the single saw in the small mill operating at that time could cut 300,000 feet of deals per annum, and as the expense of running the mill was only £150, the cost of production was no more than 10/- per thousand feet. But this was nothing compared with what could be done later, for Simpson and McLoughlin had personally examined the falls of the Willamette River, where, as Simpson expressed it, "Saws enough could be employed, to load the British Navy".³ McLoughlin was definitely charged with the development of this site as soon as circumstances permitted, and in 1831 he reported to Simpson that he had "got the wood for a saw Mill

¹ A. 6/22, fo. 139, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, September 12, 1832.

² B. 223/b/5, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, August 5, 1829. See p. 77.

³ D. 4/93, Simpson's 1829 Report, fo. 57d.

squared at the Falls of the Willamette on the spot you and I selected . . .”¹ There, it so happened, the matter ended; but the facts are worth noting because they show the circumstances under which McLoughlin first became interested in the future site of Oregon City, to which he retired when he left the service of the Company.

It is unnecessary to discuss the timber and salmon trades in any detail. Neither developed upon the scale anticipated, although a number of sizeable shipments were sent to the Sandwich Islands. Credits arising from sales there were used in partial payment for the brig *Lama* in 1832, as already noted. At first the affairs of the Company in the Sandwich Islands were placed in the care of Richard Charlton, the British Consul; but as Charlton became interested in the coastal trade on his own account, the Hudson's Bay Company deemed it best to appoint an agent of its own, in 1833. The salary attached to the post was £300 a year, which McLoughlin felt was a much greater expenditure than the extent of the Company's trade in the Islands justified. It is perhaps significant that the appointee was George Pelly, a cousin of John Henry Pelly, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.²

. ix

Simpson did not meet Peter Skene Ogden while he was in the Columbia in 1828-29, but the ability Ogden had displayed in managing the expeditions to the Snake Country was well known to him. In his report he expressed the “utmost satisfaction with the zeal, activity and perseverance” Ogden had shown; but it is significant that he added that Ogden's health had been so impaired by his hardships and exertions that he would soon be compelled to surrender his command to someone else.³

Shortly before Simpson wrote his report Ogden had had occasion to record in his own journal the death of one Joseph Paul, a veteran of the Snake Country, though only twenty-nine years old. Ogden's comment makes clear the hazards and hardships his parties encountered: “There remains now only one man of all the Snake men of 1829 [*sic*, 1819]. All have been killed with the exception of 2 who died a natural death . . . It is incredible the number that have fallen in this country.”⁴ But

¹ D. 4/125, McLoughlin to Simpson, March 16, 1831. See Appendix A, p. 228.

² For a brief history of the Hawaiian agency, see *The Beaver*, September, 1941, W. P. St. Clair, Jr., “Beaver in Hawaii”, pp. 40-42.

³ D. 4/93, Simpson's 1829 Report, fo. 47.

⁴ *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XI, “Ogden's Journals”, p. 390.

Ogden carried on; and McLoughlin, faced with American opposition, was much cheered by his safe arrival at Fort Vancouver in July, 1829, with 4,000 beaver. As they were "remarkably well dressed and in the highest state of preservation", McLoughlin rewarded the trappers with a price of 11/- per skin instead of the stipulated 10/- as a recognition of "the great care they have taken of their furs".¹

Within a few weeks Ogden was away once again on the sixth and last of his expeditions. It proved to be the most disappointing of the series. Much of the time was passed in poor beaver country, and its last days were marred by tragedy. On July 3, 1830, when the party was passing the Dalles, homeward bound, an accident occurred in which nine men were drowned, and in addition five hundred beaver skins and Ogden's papers and journal were lost. In August Ogden saw the succeeding expedition start on its way, and then relinquished his charge to John Work.

The command of the "Southern" party was changing at this same time. Chief Trader A. R. McLeod had set off in January, 1829, on the last and longest of his expeditions. Much of his time was spent wandering in the Bonaventura (Sacramento) region, and he did not arrive back until February, 1830. His returns were disappointing, and McLoughlin was severe in his criticism of McLeod's leadership. It was not for the first time, for McLeod had satisfied McLoughlin neither as a trader nor as a leader of punitive expeditions against the Indians. For once Simpson seems to have been more kindly disposed than McLoughlin. Although critical of McLeod in 1829, he felt that he had had to contend with unusual difficulties, and that, as in the case of Ogden, his health had suffered so seriously that it would be necessary to relieve him shortly. The expected transfer came in 1831, when McLeod was appointed to the Mackenzie District. He must have been heartily glad to leave the Columbia.

Viewed in retrospect, it is evident that the years from 1830 to 1834 formed a transition period in the history of the vast region south of the Columbia through which the Snake and "Southern" parties wandered. This fact is reflected in the experience of John Work. In 1830, 1831, and again in 1832, he set off with a trading and trapping party very similar to those Ogden had led, but his experience was very different.² Beaver skins were harder to find, and American trappers much more numerous. Work's third expedition lasted no less than thirteen months

¹ B. 223/b/5, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, August 5, 1829. See p. 75.

² For an outline of Work's experiences, see Appendix B, pp. 356-9.

and took him far to the south into California; yet for all his trials and tribulations he had no more than 1,023 beaver and otter skins when he returned. Michel Laframboise, who led other parties into the Umpqua, Klamath, and Sacramento regions had much the same experience. In truth, the great days of the old-style trapping parties were over. This was becoming obvious even at a distance, and in 1833 the Governor and Committee wrote to McLoughlin: "The operations of the Snake Expeditions have been very unprofitable for several years past, and attended with a serious loss of life; we therefore desire that if not abandoned this year it may be broke up next Summer..."¹ McLoughlin in his turn had reported that the Snake Country was exhausted, while as early as 1832 Simpson had considered that it was so overrun with Americans and so nearly trapped out that it was high time the Company withdrew from it.²

Yet furs were still being gathered in the Snake Country, though in reduced quantities, and what was really required was a change in trading technique to meet the new conditions. Unnoticed at first, some steps had already been taken in the required direction. The initial reaction of the Company when American traders became numerous was to meet competition by lowering its tariff. Thus as early as 1829 the officer in charge of Flathead Post had been authorized to trade furs at the American tariff, the purpose being that his post should check the American advance, and protect the interior on its eastern approach, just as Fort Vancouver was at the time competing with the American ships in the Columbia and protecting it from the west. But soon it became evident that the Company would have to make up its mind how it proposed to deal with the American traders themselves. On his expeditions Ogden had from time to time purchased furs from Americans, and at Flathead Americans had appeared who desired to trade furs for supplies. Some even offered their services to the Company, the most interesting example being that of Major Pilcher, who went so far as to offer to trap in American territory east of the Rockies in co-operation with the Hudson's Bay Company, an offer Simpson declined upon the grounds that the Company could not "infringe openly" the territorial rights of the United States.³

Pilcher and other Americans who sought to come to a working agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company were impelled to do so by the

¹ A. 6/23, fo. 50d., Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, December 4, 1833.

² D. 4/99, Simpson's 1832 Report, fo. 21.

³ Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 307-8, Simpson to Pilcher, February 18, 1829.

difficulty and cost of securing equipment and trading goods from other sources. In October, 1832, McLoughlin was suddenly confronted with the whole problem when Nathaniel Wyeth, an American, arrived at Fort Vancouver accompanied by eleven men. Wyeth had come overland from Boston, and his purpose was twofold: to collect furs and cure salmon on the Columbia, and to ship these commodities to market in vessels which would return laden with supplies which could be sold or traded to the American trappers in the Rocky Mountains.

When Wyeth first appeared, it is interesting to note that McLoughlin doubted his statement that his interests were confined to furs, salmon, and supplies. "... Though it may be as he states ", McLoughlin wrote to the Governor and Committee, " still I would not be surprised to find that his views are in connexion with a plan which I see in a Boston paper of March 1831, to colonise the Willamette."¹ As it proved, McLoughlin's suspicions were unfounded, though it is true that two of the men discharged at their own request from Wyeth's party remained in the Columbia, and were the first American citizens to settle in the Willamette Valley.

In November Wyeth learned that the vessel bringing his first shipment of goods had been wrecked in the Society Islands, and this news so discouraged his men that all but two took their discharge. Wyeth himself passed the winter at Fort Vancouver, where he was most hospitably received, in spite of the fact that he was a business rival. A typical entry in his journal reads: "... Remained at Fort Vancouver eating and drinking the good things to be had there and enjoying much the gentlemanly society of the place."² When he left in February, 1833, he characterized McLoughlin as " a man distinguished as much for his kindness and humanity as his good sense and information and to whom I am so much indebted as that he will never be forgotten by me."³

Wyeth then travelled from Fort Vancouver to Flathead in company with Francis Ermatinger, a clerk in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and it is evident that he made a careful inspection of the various trading posts. In spite of the failure of his first venture, he was determined not to abandon his scheme; but, in the light of what he had seen and learned in the Columbia, he hoped that it might be possible to

¹ See pp. 108-09. The letter obviously refers to Wyeth, but " Dwight " is unmistakably written in the Ms.

² " Correspondence and Journals of Nathaniel J. Wyeth ", p. 178.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

carry it out in co-operation with the Hudson's Bay Company. From Fort Colville, on March 12, 1833, he wrote a letter to Simpson in which he outlined his plans and submitted tentative terms for an agreement. Briefly, Wyeth proposed that the Company should sell him supplies at an advance of 50 per cent. on prime cost, and purchase all furs that came into his possession "at the rate of \$5 for full Beavers", and other skins in proportion. In return, he undertook to confine his operations to the country south of the Columbia, and not to trade within a hundred miles of a Hudson's Bay post. He explained that he was returning home to make new arrangements to carry out his original plan, and gave Simpson an address to which he might forward a reply.¹

Wyeth's proposal was not accepted, but it must have interested his travelling companion, Ermatinger. Reduced to its essentials, Wyeth's plan, in so far as it concerned the fur trade, was simply to deal with the American trappers, and to secure furs from them in return for supplies, instead of taking furs himself. In 1832 Ermatinger had tried a very similar plan, and if we may judge by a letter from McLoughlin to Ermatinger's brother Edward, the idea was Ermatinger's own: "Your Brother is out in the Snake Country but more properly on a trading Expedition than hunting," McLoughlin wrote. "It is a plan mostly of his own and I hope it will (on his Account) turn out well."² In a report to the Governor and Committee Simpson noted that this expedition had paid well, and that Ermatinger was repeating the venture.³ These circumstances may account for a further development, concerning Thomas McKay,⁴ McLoughlin's step-son. As "Mess. Ogden and Work were of opinion that a trapping party on the south side of the Columbia would not pay", McLoughlin in 1834 "Equipped Mr. McKay to hunt and Gave him An Outfit on his account to trade with the American trappers so as to Introduce Our Goods Among them . . ."⁵

By degrees a new order was thus replacing the old in the Snake Country, but no one seems to have realized that Wyeth's arrival and Ermatinger's expedition ended the period of transition between the two.

¹ For the proposal in full see *ibid.*, pp. 56-8.

² McLoughlin to Edward Ermatinger, February 1, 1834. Ermatinger papers (transcript in Archives of British Columbia).

³ D. 4/100, Simpson's 1834 Report, fo. 7.

⁴ See Appendix B, pp. 347-9.

⁵ See p. 168.

McLoughlin must have wondered a little, that he should still be in the Columbia as late as 1834, when these changes were maturing. For he was not at first greatly attracted by the Columbia. "I cannot say that I admire much this Country", he wrote to his uncle, Dr. Simon Fraser, in March, 1825. "The Climate is very mild but moist and cloudy to a degree indeed since my Arrival on the 8th Novr we have not seen one clear sun Shineing day and not ten days without rain." He thought it probable he would "go down . . . in three Years after this"—meaning, presumably, in 1828.¹ In the spring of 1826 he informed Fraser that he planned "to go down in five Years", or in 1831;² but in spite of this it appears that at one time he expected to leave the Columbia for good in 1827. In any event we know that his family left Fort Colville in September, 1826, in company with Chief Trader John Warren Dease, and that they turned back at Athabaska Portage in October, "on hearing that the Doctor is not to go out in Spring . . ."³

In 1830 McLoughlin remarked in a private letter that he had "been placed in greater difficulties than any other [Chief Factor] has been since the Columbia was Established",⁴ and there was much justification for the remark. Nevertheless the district and its affairs had taken so firm a grip upon McLoughlin's life and interests that he showed little inclination to leave it. By 1831, however, the Company evidently expected that he would be transferred elsewhere in the relatively near future, and made arrangements accordingly. McLoughlin's furlough fell due in 1833, and in order that a qualified and experienced successor would be available at that time, Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson was assigned to the Columbia.

A tradition persists that McLoughlin violently resented Finlayson's appointment, and regarded him as a spy sent to report upon him. It is conceivable that this was so, but search in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company has failed to uncover any documentary evidence whatsoever in support of the charge. The contention seems to rest almost entirely upon a private letter from McLoughlin to Edward Ermatinger, dated February 1, 1834, in which the following passage occurs: "You have one great satisfaction you act for yourself . . . While you know

¹ *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXVI, p. 334.

² *Ibid.*, p. 337.

³ D. 4/120, fo. 16, John Warren Dease to the Governor, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders, Athabaska Portage, October 15, 1826.

⁴ McLoughlin to John McLeod, February, 1830.

that in this Country you would be working for others and people who Know Nothing of the Business—have the power of deciding on the Merits of your conduct—and who would place a Runt of a fellow that knows Nothing—can do Nothing—as your Colleague—Merely because they want to reward—a Creature.”¹ There is no positive proof that the colleague in question was Finlayson; indeed the charge and the circumstances would apply very aptly to Chief Trader Francis Heron, with whom McLoughlin had had more than one violent quarrel. Thus in 1830 Simpson wrote in a private note to J. G. McTavish: “. . . Dr. McLoughlin & Heron have got into a proper War & the latter has the best of it but I have found it necessary to go to the Drs assistance & give Heron a Dressing who is nothing more or less than an idle indolent Lawyer.”² Heron had, in fact, defied McLoughlin’s authority, but in spite of this he retained—or at least McLoughlin felt that he retained—the confidence of the Governor and Committee. He was “very unpopular with even the Hudson Bay Gentlemen in the Country”, McLoughlin wrote, “but some how or other he was very popular with Their Honors . . .”³ He must have heard with a certain satisfaction that in 1836 “Mr. Chief Trader Heron’s intemperate habits having of late become so notorious as to be the subject of general remark”, the Council had resolved to investigate the matter at its next meeting.⁴

Heron was not the only colleague with whom McLoughlin had differences. Dr. Hamlyn, a medical officer, pestered him with petty complaints, and after an open quarrel McLoughlin permitted him to leave the district in 1830, although his services were badly needed. It was “no use” he remarked to Simpson “to keep a Gentleman who says he will not work”.⁵ More serious was the difference with Chief Trader John Warren Dease, the details of which remain obscure. Dease was taken ill at Fort Colville in the summer of 1829, and later in the year travelled painfully to Fort Vancouver. In the middle of winter he suddenly started back to his post, but died when he had gone as far as the Dalles. Simpson told his confidant, J. G. McTavish, that the quarrel

¹ McLoughlin to Edward Ermatinger, February 1, 1835. Ermatinger Papers (transcript in Archives of British Columbia).

² B. 135/c/2, fo. 48, Simpson to J. G. McTavish (Private), July 30, 1830.

³ McLoughlin to Edward Ermatinger, February 1, 1834. Ermatinger Papers (transcript in Archives of British Columbia).

⁴ E. H. Oliver (ed.), *The Canadian North-West*, Ottawa, 1915, II, p. 737.

⁵ D. 4/123, fo. 98d., McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1830

between the two "went as far as it could well do without Powder & Ball",¹ and later added: "McLoughlin is quite a changed man since the Death of Dease: you are aware that he had a very Serious quarrel wh. the poor man immediately previous to his decease & which tis said was the cause of his undertaking the Journey from Vancouver to Colville at such an unfavourable Season."²

In the light of these quarrels the description of McLoughlin which Simpson wrote in 1832 in his secret "Book of Servants' Characters", is more understandable than it otherwise might be. It reads as follows:

"No. 10 About 48 Years of Age—A very bustling active man who can go through a great deal of business but is wanting in system and regularity and has not the talent of managing the few associates and clerks under his authority: has a good deal of influence with Indians and speaks the Soulteaux tolerably well.—Very zealous in the discharge of his public duties and a man of strict honor and integrity but a great stickler for rights & privileges and sets himself up for a righter of wrongs. Very anxious to obtain a lead among his colleagues with whom he has not much influence owing to his ungovernable violent temper and turbulent disposition, and would be a troublesome man to the Comp'y if he had sufficient influence to form and tact to manage a party, in short, would be a Radical in any Country under any Government and under any circumstances; and if he had not pacific people to deal with, would be eternally embroiled in 'affairs of honor' on the merest trifles arising I conceive from the irritability of his temper more than a quarrelsome disposition.—Altogether a disagreeable man to do business with as it is impossible to go with him in all things and a difference of opinion almost amounts to a declaration of hostilities, yet a good hearted man and a pleasant companion."³

It is interesting to place beside this note the corresponding description of Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson:

"No. 25 About 38 years of Age. A highly upright honorable correct man of good Education and superior abilities to most of his colleagues. Has great influence with and is much liked by his Equals, inferiors and the Natives: Speaks cree, understands accounts, is a good correspondent and is well qualified for the management either of a Depot or Trading Establishment. Firm cool and decisive, one of our best Legislators and most effective practical men, and his private conduct & character are

¹ B. 135/c/2, fo. 48, Simpson to McTavish, July 30, 1830.

² *Ibid.*, fo. 69d., same to same, August 15, 1831.

³ Douglas MacKay, *The Honourable Company*, New York, 1936, p. 199.

models worthy of imitation; in short, he may be ranked high among the most respectable and efficient men of his class.”¹

Although Simpson was critical of certain aspects of McLoughlin's character, he was consistently generous in his praise of him in his public and official correspondence. His tribute to the change which McLoughlin had brought about in the Columbia between 1825 and 1829 has already been quoted. In August, 1832, Simpson sent an equally glowing account to the Governor and Committee. Commenting upon the improvement in the “affairs of the Columbia” he wrote: “This amendment I mainly ascribe to the great exertions indefatigable labours and unremitting attention of Chief Factor McLoughlin, who, in the face of every difficulty he has had to contend with, (and they certainly were of no ordinary character), has steadily & uniformly followed up, with a degree of vigour & energy which I have rarely witnessed in this or any other country, every measure and plan which had been determined on at the commencement of his administration in that quarter, and has now brought the business into such a train that, if it be followed up with system and regularity by those who may succeed him, will secure to the Honble. Company a branch of trade on the Shores of the Pacific which promises to become one of very great value and importance.”²

The Governor and Committee were equally warm in their appreciation of McLoughlin's efforts, and the following passage in their dispatch to Simpson, dated March 5, 1834, is representative of several that could be cited:

“We shall conclude our remarks on the affairs of the Westside of the Mountains by drawing your attention to the copies of our dispatches to Chief Factor McLoughlin herewith transmitted, and by expressing our unqualified approbation of that Gentlemans excellent management during his long administration in that quarter under circumstances of no ordinary trouble and difficulty, which we trust will be duly appreciated by the Gentlemen of the Council, as it deservedly is by ourselves, and by noticing the satisfaction we feel, that he is succeeded in that important charge by an officer of so much zeal and ability as we have reason to expect Chief Factor Finlayson will prove himself to be.”³

Although the sincerity of the writers is not in question, it is undeniable that these passages remind one of testimonials. They were written, as the last words quoted indicate, in the expectation that the McLoughlin

¹ A. 34/2, fo. 8d., Simpson's “Character Book”, 1832.

² D. 4/99, Simpson's 1832 Report, fo. 22d.

³ A. 6/23, fo. 71.

regime in the Columbia had entered its last days. Simpson had expected McLoughlin to travel eastward in the spring of 1833, and to spend his furlough in Canada and Europe, after which it seems to have been assumed that he would be assigned to a new district. But when the time came McLoughlin had postponed his furlough; and to Simpson's surprise it was Finlayson who left the Columbia in 1834, having obtained an exchange of McLoughlin's leave. Finlayson's journey was occasioned by the death of a brother, while McLoughlin's change of plans seems to have been due to ill health. Writing to McTavish in August, 1834, Simpson stated that McLoughlin "has had a very trying and harassing time of it and the frequent attacks of fever he has had have broken up his constitution; he does not come out until 1837 . . ." ¹

The previous month, Simpson had piloted through Council a resolution which recommended that McLoughlin receive a gratuity and special grants amounting in all to £1,100. The wording was as follows:

"The prosperous and highly promising state of the Columbia Department, arising from the excellent management of Ch. Factor McLoughlin, having already called forth the high and well merited commendations of the Governor & Committee, it is Resolved 72nd That this Council likewise testify their approbation of that Gentleman's whole administration, by presenting to him their warmest thanks for his valuable services in the very arduous situation he has filled at Ft. Vancouver during the past 10 years, with so much credit to himself and advantage to the Concern; and by voting to him a Gratuity of Five Hundred pounds; with an allowance of one hundred and fifty pounds p. annum during the years 1830, 1831, 1832 and 1833, in consideration of his professional attendance on the Sick at that Establishment. This grant, nevertheless, subject to the approbation of the Governor and Committee." ²

The resolution was a generous gesture, but no more than the circumstances warranted. McLoughlin had been given an unusual status in the Columbia in 1825, and with it had assumed unusual responsibility. This had never been recognized financially. Year after year he had received no more than the stipulated share of the profit of each outfit which was placed to the credit of every Chief Factor. McLoughlin's personal account has been preserved, and it proves once and for all that the numerous assertions that he was in receipt of a very large income are without foundation in fact.³ His income from outfit 1824 to outfit 1833

¹ B. 135/c/2, fo. 120, Simpson to McTavish (Private) August 9, 1834.

² B. 239/k/2, fo. 38, Minutes of a Temporary Council held at York Factory, July, 1834.

³ A. 16/39, Officers' and Servants' Ledgers, fo. 515 ff.

inclusive varied from slightly under £600 to slightly over £1,000, and averaged approximately £835 per annum throughout the period. The Chief Factor in charge of New Caledonia, which was for many purposes considered a part of McLoughlin's district, received an equal amount. Even Chief Factor Finlayson, who arrived in the *Columbia* in October, 1831, and served as McLoughlin's second in command, received the same remuneration as McLoughlin himself. These were undoubtedly the circumstances Simpson had in mind when he presented the resolution to Council, and in the light of them the amount of the gratuity proposed does not seem excessive.

To the Governor and Committee the recommendation seemed to set a precedent which was in many respects undesirable, and letters concerning it passed between London and Simpson over a period of many months. At last in March, 1836, the Committee withdrew its objections, on the distinct understanding that the grants should not be considered a precedent, and directed that McLoughlin's account should be credited with the sum of £1,100.¹

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In many respects the year 1834 proved to be a turning-point in McLoughlin's career. In the course of it the first serious difference of opinion developed between himself and the Company. One suspects that the consciousness that these differences existed, although they had not yet become fully apparent, had something to do with McLoughlin's decision not to leave the *Columbia*, even on furlough, in 1833 or 1834. Annoyance and impatience began to find expression in his letters to the Governor and Committee; and within a year or two they were to be characterized by a bluntness of statement that contrasted sharply with the deferential and at times almost subservient tone of his early dispatches.

The first enterprise of importance undertaken in 1834 was the founding of the projected post on the Stikine River, beyond the Russian territorial limits. Elaborate preparations were made, and the expedition, under Chief Trader Peter Skene Ogden, left the *Columbia* in the brig *Dryad*. It approached its destination in the middle of June. Ogden's report, published complete for the first time in Appendix A to this volume,

¹ A. 6/24, fo. 24, Governor and Committee to Simpson, March 9, 1836; A. 1/59, fo. 105, Minutes of the Governor and Committee, March 2, 1836.

relates in detail the events which followed.¹ The preliminary exploration of the Stikine River carried out in 1833 had not escaped the watchful eye of Baron Wrangell, the resident Governor of the Russian American Company, and he had rushed preparations for the construction of a small fort, later named Redoubt St. Dionysius, at the mouth of the river. Before it he stationed the brig *Chichagoff*, which, although not a ship of war, carried fourteen guns. Thus protected, the Russians took refuge behind a technicality. They pointed out that the convention of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia provided that the ships of one power should not approach any point occupied by the other without permission, and since British vessels would be compelled to pass Redoubt St. Dionysius in order to ascend the Stikine, they would violate the treaty in so doing. In response Ogden contended that Great Britain had been guaranteed free navigation of the river. For eleven days he argued and negotiated, but as the Russians held firm he had no alternative but to risk hostilities, which he had no wish to do, or withdraw.

The opposition of the Russians should not have surprised either Ogden or McLoughlin. It was all very well for the Hudson's Bay Company to contend that its primary object was to drive American trading vessels from the coast, and thereby end the dangerous traffic in arms and liquor; but it was obvious that the Company's activities would sooner or later encroach upon the trade of the Russians as well. Simpson frankly admitted as much in July, 1834, in a report to the Governor and Committee. The purpose of the new post on the Stikine, he explained, was "to cut off from the Russians the valuable trade they have hitherto enjoyed without interruption drawn from the British Territory in the interior". He added that they might well oppose the move, "as we are now striking at the very root of their trade".²

Some months later Baron Wrangell presented his side of the case in an illuminating report addressed to the Directors of the Russian American Company. It is evident that the fame of the Snake River expeditions had not only reached Sitka, but that Wrangell regarded them as typical of the trading methods of the Hudson's Bay Company. Thus in discussing the rebuff to Ogden's expedition—the *Dryad* incident, as it is usually termed—he wrote as follows: "Without doubt Mr. Ogden's only aim is to occupy the region where the natives living on the coast

¹ For the report see Appendix A, pp. 317-22. On the whole episode see *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, V, D. C. Davidson, "Relations of the Hudson's Bay Company with the Russian American Company on the Northwest Coast, 1829-1867", pp. 40-46.

² D. 4/100, Simpson's 1834 Report, fos. 10d., 11d.

obtain river beavers, and then with their Canadians to hunt for these furs. It is in this manner that the Hudson Bay Co. obtains the greater part of their furs wherever they have settlements, since they have almost no need whatever to trade with the natives. Under command of a member in the confidence of the Company, a group of 20 to 30 Canadians roam with their wives and children in the favorable seasons of the year over all the places where there are river beavers, and possessing excellent traps and good guns they are not afraid of the savages, and manage to obtain beavers in great numbers." Wrangell complained further of the unfairness of such an encroachment on the Russian sphere of influence: "The possessions of the Hudson Bay Company in the south are extensive; they may treat the natives there as they please, we have never hindered them in any way and never will do so; does not justice demand that the Company deal in the same way with us and leave us in peace within our frontiers?"¹

Wrangell did not realize that the plundering methods of the Snake River parties were only employed by the Hudson's Bay Company in territory it did not expect to occupy for long; but he was quite correct in stating that the founding of a post on the Stikine River would be a blow to the coast Indians. Ogden himself notes in his journal that the Stikine chiefs "were determined to prevent us if we attempted to proceed up the River", and their hostility contributed to his decision not to force the issue. They were not averse to trading with him; they even urged him to construct a post in Stikine Sound; but they realized that if he penetrated inland the livelihood they gained as inter-tribal traders would vanish. "They represented to me", Ogden wrote, "we had no other view in going up the River but to unite with our establishments in the interior, and deprive them of their trade, which would reduce them to the state of Slaves . . ."²

McLoughlin remained in ignorance of these events until Ogden arrived back at Fort Vancouver in December, 1834. He took a most serious view of the whole matter, and by the first opportunity forwarded to London a copy of Ogden's report and various supplementary documents. These included a detailed account of the financial loss which the Company had, in his judgment, sustained because of the action of the Russians; and this surprising statement placed the total at no less than £22,150.³ These reports reached London in the autumn of 1835, and

¹ *Appendix to the Case of the United States*, pp. 277-8, Wrangell to the Directors, Russian American Company, April 30, 1835.

² P. S. Ogden's Report of transactions at Stikine 1834. See p. 321.

³ A. 11/50.

it is evident that they were received with considerable satisfaction by the Governor and Committee. True, they pointed out later that the financial statement was obviously padded heavily with damages and expenses which were largely nominal; but it suited their purpose very well in spite of that. Ever since 1829 they had been anxious to negotiate an agreement with the Russian American Company, but had met with polite evasions. The *Dryad* incident, and McLoughlin's bill for the damages incurred, enabled the Committee to press the issue through diplomatic channels, and thereby compel the Russians to give the matter their attention. Meanwhile it was important that peaceful relations between the companies should be preserved on the Pacific Coast, and, pending a settlement, McLoughlin was instructed not to "take any steps towards the formation of the intended establishment at Stikine".¹ But it is typical of the persistence and resource of the Hudson's Bay Company that this did not mean that it had abandoned, even temporarily, the end it had in view. Rebuffed on the coast, it decided to push forward from the interior. One of the resolutions passed by the Council held at Norway House in June, 1836, reads as follows:

"The Governor and Committee being desirous that a Post should be established as early as possible on Pelly's (supposed) Stikine River falling into the Pacific, for the purpose of intercepting the valuable trade which now finds its way to the Coast and there falls into the hands of the Russians and Americans It is resolved,—

"19. That an officer and 6 men be forwarded with Outfit 1837, in order to enable Chief Factor McPherson to establish a post to be called Fort Drew in the Summer of 1838 down the river at a distance of at least 200 miles from Dease's Lake." ²

Not even the name of the proposed establishment had been abandoned, for Ogden had been instructed by Simpson to name the projected Stikine River post Fort Drew, in honour of the Hudson's Bay Company's director of that name.³

¹ B. 223/c/1, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, August 28, 1835. The diplomatic exchanges regarding the *Dryad* incident commenced in November, 1835, and continued for three years.

² Oliver, *The Canadian North-West*, II, 727.

³ D. 4/100, Simpson's 1834 Report, fo. 10d.

On the 14th or 15th of September, 1834,¹ McLoughlin was surprised by the arrival at Fort Vancouver of Nathaniel Wyeth, who, true to his word, had returned to try his fortune a second time in the Columbia. On his way overland he had built Fort Hall, on the Snake River, in what is now south-eastern Idaho. In spite of this, Wyeth hoped that he would be able to arrive at an agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company whereby neither he nor the Company would interfere with each other. After some modification in the details of the proposal, McLoughlin agreed to it. Wyeth's journal states that it was on September 23 that he "finished an arrangement in regard to trade".² Six months later McLoughlin reported the transaction in his annual spring letter to Simpson: "Mr. Wyeth called on me on his arrival, and told me that he did not come to oppose us, if we would put no obstacles in the way of his trading Horses in the Interior or Salmon there, as his object was to salt Salmon for exportation, and to deal with the American Trappers in the Snake Country: Mr. Wyeth's Vessel the *May Dacre* arrived a few days before Mr. Wyeth and neither the Captain nor Mr. Wyeth have in the least interfered as yet with the Trade of Furs at this place or along the Columbia."³ McLoughlin might have added that Wyeth was interested in farming, that he had founded a settlement named Fort William on Wappatoo (now Sauvie) Island, about eight miles down the Columbia River from Fort Vancouver, and was busy planting crops and gathering herds there.

Early in October the Brig *Eagle* arrived from England, carrying letters from the Governor and Committee which discussed the contingency of Wyeth's return to the Columbia. McLoughlin was informed that Simpson, acting on the Committee's instructions, had rejected the proposal for co-operative action which Wyeth had submitted from Fort Colville in March, 1833, and McLoughlin was advised that if Wyeth

¹ Wyeth stated he arrived on September 14 ("Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth", p. 233); McLoughlin reported to Simpson that he arrived on September 15 (D. 4/127, fo. 70, McLoughlin to Simpson, March 3, 1835); but in his letter to the Governor and Committee he stated that Wyeth did not arrive until October 5, 1834 (see p. 125, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, November 18, 1834). The latter date is almost certainly incorrect. If not, McLoughlin concluded the agreement with Wyeth after the arrival of the *Eagle* and the dispatches from London.

² "Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth", p. 233.

³ D. 4/127, fo. 70, McLoughlin to Simpson, March 3, 1835.

returned he "must endeavor to put him down, by steady, well regulated opposition . . ." ¹ As we shall see, even the modest agreement which McLoughlin had concluded with Wyeth ten days before the arrival of the *Eagle* was judged later to be contrary to these instructions; and the resulting difference of opinion between McLoughlin and the Governor and Committee was to disturb their relations for several years.

Various letters and records have survived which enable us to ascertain with some certainty the motives which prompted McLoughlin to accept Wyeth's terms. In the first place, it is evident that McLoughlin was convinced that Wyeth's whole enterprise was unsound, and that there was therefore no need to go to the expense of opposing it actively, since it would soon collapse of its own accord. It is important to note that Wyeth's own letters show that he was himself not sanguine of success, even at the start. He had arrived too late for the 1834 salmon season, and the reports he sent to relatives and associates in Boston were anything but optimistic. A representative excerpt reads: "This buisness looks very bad at this time. We have failed in every thing for the first year. I shall do all I can one year more, which will I think shew whether anything is to be done here or not, and I will not be long in closing the concern when I find that there is nothing to be made." ² The events of the next twelve months were not such as to encourage Wyeth to change his opinion. On September 6, 1835, he wrote: "This buisness has not been successful in any of its branches therefore it will terminate soon." ³ A fortnight later he added: "We have had a bad season for salmon. About half a cargo only obtained. The salmon part of the business will never do." ⁴ Wyeth and many of his men had been laid up with the fever which still plagued the Columbia: "I did not expect to recover, and am still a wreck. Our sick list has been this summer usually about one third the whole number and the rest much frightened." ⁵ A dozen of his men had met violent death by accident or massacre. This state of affairs was as evident to McLoughlin and the men of the Hudson's Bay Company as it was to Wyeth. Thus in March, 1836, William Glen Rae, one of the Company's clerks, and

¹ A. 6/23, fo. 63, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, February 1, 1834.

² "Correspondence and Journals of Nathaniel J. Wyeth", October 6, 1834, pp. 143-4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151. September 20, 1835.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

McLoughlin's future son-in-law, remarked in a private letter: "The salmon fishing established by Wyeth has gone to the right about—I am sorry for Wyeth however impolitic it may be—as he is a fine honourable man and one I should be glad to see or hear of brighter days shining on—" ¹

In the second place, McLoughlin's one real fear was that Wyeth might establish a connection whereby he could bring an ample supply of reasonably priced goods to the Columbia independently of the Hudson's Bay Company. To yield the modest concessions which Wyeth required seemed to him to be justified on grounds of expediency, since a refusal would compel Wyeth to seek help elsewhere. Furthermore—and perhaps most important—McLoughlin was unable to see that he had surrendered anything of consequence to the Hudson's Bay Company. He had taken care to reject the only concession asked for by Wyeth which would have really damaged the Company's trade, namely, the surrender of the Flathead country, which Wyeth had requested at first in return for the promise not to interfere with the fur trade at Fort Vancouver or Fort Nez Percés.

As it was, McLoughlin retained a surprisingly free hand in the trapping areas, including the Snake Country. Francis Ermatinger set out from Flathead with his trading party, as he had done for several seasons past. In view of the unexpected competition offered by Wyeth's establishment at Fort Hall, McLoughlin took over the Snake trading expedition which had been outfitted in 1834 to the personal account of Thomas McKay, and the Company repeated the venture in subsequent seasons. The agreement restricted McLoughlin's freedom so little that, without violating it, he was able to build Fort Boise, between Fort Hall and Fort Nez Percés, to intercept any Indians who might be attracted to the former from the Nez Percés country.

Nevertheless it was in the Snake Country that Wyeth made his last stand. In March, 1836, when commenting upon the failure of Wyeth's fishing industry, William Glen Rae went on to say: "it is however most probable he will yet oppose the Co. in the snake country . . ." ² Justification for this remark came early in May, when Wyeth submitted to McLoughlin the terms of a proposed new agreement. The correspondence is printed in Appendix A, and need only be summarized here. Briefly, Wyeth wished to secure supplies from the Hudson's Bay Company at an advance of 75 per cent. on prime cost, to hire men and horses

¹ Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 235, Rae to Hargrave, March 20, 1836.

² *Ibid.*

from the Company upon conditions to be agreed upon, and to have the Company in return guarantee him a market for furs at the basic rate of £1 per merchantable beaver of 1 lb. weight. Wyeth was even willing to abandon Fort Hall, if required, and undertook to confine his operations to the "Upper Waters of the Snake River, and to the Countries to the South and South east of a line of demarcation which should be distinctly drawn out."¹

The proposal appealed strongly to McLoughlin, for it could be made a part of his plan to deal with the numerous American traders and trappers who were overrunning the Snake Country and the adjacent regions. The unexpected appearance at Fort Nez Percés of Captain Bonneville, whose story was soon to be made famous by Washington Irving, and at Fort Vancouver of Christie, of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, emphasized their presence, just as the desire of Bonneville and Christie to purchase supplies revealed their needs. McLoughlin became hopeful that a traffic in supplies might bring a new prosperity to the Company's operations in the Snake Country, and various small-scale efforts to send goods to the wilderness rendezvous, at which many of the Americans gathered annually, resulted. Thomas McKay set off in 1834, but the Americans had dispersed before he arrived. Francis Ermatinger was more successful in 1835. From the point of view of the Hudson's Bay Company it was obviously desirable that the supplies should reach the Americans as far as possible from the Columbia proper, in order that the nearer approach of rival traders should not be encouraged. By 1836 McLoughlin was contemplating a definite division of territory between the Company and the Americans, judging from the instructions given to Chief Trader John McLeod,² who was to go with supplies to the rendezvous that year. McLeod was to secure all the information about the American traders, their wants, and their ways, that he could, "keeping in mind", McLoughlin added, "that our object is rather to encourage these men to unite among themselves so as that we might draw a boundary with them and sell them their Supplies which would be to their Interest as we can supply them cheaper than any others and enable them to carry on their business much cheaper than they do at present."³

It was against this background that McLoughlin considered Wyeth's proposal. He had reason for assuming that Wyeth was determined to

¹ B. 223/b/12, Wyeth to McLoughlin, May 5, 1836. See pp. 340-2.

² Not to be confused with Chief Trader John McLeod who was in the Columbia in 1824-25. See *H.B.S.*, I, 455.

³ B. 223/b/12, fo. 31d., Mr. Chief Trader McLeod's Instructions, May 7, 1836.

make a stand in and beyond the Snake Country; that he would secure goods elsewhere if the Hudson's Bay Company refused to co-operate, thereby introducing a new opposition into the country; and that he would abandon Fort Hall. The bargain, therefore, seemed to McLoughlin to be very much to the Company's advantage. Wyeth would in effect become a middle-man in the supply and fur trades, operating in a country which was inconveniently distant from the Company's own establishments. "Some objection will probably be started to Mr. Wyeth's plans", McLoughlin wrote to the Governor and Committee, "but such, if any, are trifling, when placed in comparison with the advantages likely to result from it". He added that this view was supported by "the unanimous opinion and concurrence of all the commissioned Gentlemen now here Vizt. Messrs. Finlayson McLeod and Douglas."¹ So confident was he that the Governor and Committee would agree to the proposal that he gave Wyeth, who was returning shortly to the United States, an opportunity to specify the goods he would like to have delivered in the spring of 1837.²

Within a few months McLoughlin was to discover that the Committee was opposed to any agreement whatsoever, and that even the relatively harmless arrangement which he and Wyeth had entered into in September, 1834, had been received with marked displeasure. "With respect to the Americans", they wrote in August, 1835, "we have no doubt that you have done that which appeared to you to be best with regard to Mr. Wyeth, & we hope it may prove so, but we are decidedly of opinion that the very reverse of the system we recommend as applicable to the Russians should be pursued towards the Americans." They should be opposed at every point, "even at a loss"; and the Committee was convinced that vigorous opposition would prove the cheapest policy in the long run.³ A similar admonition came from Simpson. "We think it better to oppose him Vigourously Allow him to do his Worst and to Decline Entering into Any Arrangement with him than afford him An opportunity to secure a firm footing in the country by temporising Measures", Simpson wrote, on behalf of himself and the Council of the Northern Department in June, 1836.⁴

¹ B. 223/b/15, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, May 5, 1836. See p. 149.

² B. 223/b/12, fo. 31, Mr. Chief Trader McLeod's Instructions, May 7, 1836.

³ B. 223/c/1, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, August 28, 1835.

⁴ Quoted in B. 223/b/12, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, November 16, 1836. See p. 170.

These opinions were an unexpected shock to McLoughlin, for the idea of reaching an agreement with the Americans to divide the trade in the Snake Country had been discussed from time to time ever since he arrived in the Columbia. For example, in 1827 the Committee itself had told Simpson that the leader of the Snake expedition "ought to have instructions", if he encountered Americans, "to endeavor to make an amicable arrangement as to the parts of the Country which each will take to avoid interference . . ." ¹ Simpson passed this suggestion on to McLoughlin, stating that some division of the hunting grounds was desirable. ² Moreover, Simpson had actually expressed approval of the first agreement with Wyeth in his 1835 report to the Governor and Committee, ³ and he commended it in writing to McLoughlin as well. ⁴ The only danger signal that McLoughlin might have perceived was the Committee's rejection of Wyeth's proposal in 1833. The new agreement closely resembled the old in general character, but conditions had changed so greatly in the interval that McLoughlin felt confident that the opinion of his superiors had changed with them.

Thoroughly nettled by the severity of their criticism, McLoughlin defended his policy in a series of vigorous and outspoken letters to the Governor and Committee. In addition he circularized all his senior officers, asking them to state in writing their opinion of the agreement concluded with Wyeth in 1834. In November, 1836, he forwarded to London the replies received from Chief Traders Robert Cowie, John McLeod, and James Douglas, and these were followed in 1837 by the statements of Chief Factors Duncan Finlayson and Peter Skene Ogden, and Chief Traders John Work and Archibald McDonald. Five of the seven, including both the Chief Factors, gave McLoughlin unqualified support. Cowie felt that the plan had worked in the case of Wyeth, but might nevertheless encourage others to follow him. McDonald pleaded ignorance of the facts and therefore inability to express an opinion. In spite of these minority views the testimony was overwhelmingly in McLoughlin's favour; and he had the added satisfaction of being able to report: "Wyeth is obliged to Withdraw [from the Columbia River and Fort Hall] the American trappers are Receding from us—our Returns have not decreased and our Books shew our profits have not

¹ Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 286-7.

² D. 4/90, fo. 89d., Simpson to McLoughlin, July 9, 1827.

³ D. 4/102, Simpson's 1835 Report, fo. 25d.

⁴ D. 4/21, fo. 63, Simpson to McLoughlin, June 5, 1835.

Diminished . . .”¹ The final vindication of his policy came in 1837, when Wyeth abandoned his whole enterprise, and Fort Hall was acquired by the Hudson’s Bay Company.

xiii

McLoughlin’s third crop of troubles sprang in part from the arrival in April, 1834, of the *Nereide*, under the command of Captain Langtry. She was a relatively large brig of 240 tons which the Governor and Committee had purchased in the belief that she would prove “well adapted for the Coasting trade”. Her captain, Lieut. J. M. Langtry, R.N., had been sent out to succeed the late Lieut. Simpson as Superintendent of the Marine Department. “We consider the efficiency of our Naval establishment so essential to the Trade of the Columbia department”, the Committee wrote, “that we have been most anxious to send a fit and proper Person to succeed the lamented Lt. Simpson . . .” McLoughlin was instructed to place “all the Naval part of the Establishment . . . under his immediate orders”, and Langtry was to be subject only to McLoughlin’s own orders.² Knowing McLoughlin’s opinion of both ships and ship masters, one can imagine his displeasure at the arrival of a vessel which he felt was unsuitable for use on the coast, and a new appointee to a superintendency which he considered unnecessary and undesirable. Shortly after the *Nereide* arrived, McLoughlin came to the conclusion that the best thing to do was to send her back to England; and one suspects that it was with much satisfaction that he discovered that Lieut. Langtry would have to return with her, as his agreement did not permit him to accept the command of any other vessel.

This course of action could hardly be expected to meet with favour in London, and the Governor and Committee took McLoughlin roundly to task for sending the *Nereide* home. They explained that she was “a vessel built as strong as materials could make her, of imposing appearance, well adapted for defence, and having sailing and other properties for Coast trading.”³ All this being so, they were at a loss to understand McLoughlin’s attitude. Nor did their displeasure stop there, for they were dissatisfied with the whole conduct of the coast trade. “Your

¹ B. 223/b/12, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, November 16, 1836. See p. 171.

² A. 6/23, fo. 22d., Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, May 1, 1833.

³ B. 223/c/1, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, August 28, 1835. For McLoughlin’s very different opinion of her capabilities, see p. 154.

individual opinion with respect to an energetic opposition to the Americans trading on the Coast, and the means of carrying it into effect", they wrote to McLoughlin in August, 1835, "is not in accordance with that of Governor Simpson & the Northern Council or assented to by us."¹

It was fitting that this letter of censure should have been carried from London to Fort Vancouver by either the new barque *Columbia* or the steamer *Beaver*, both of which arrived in March of 1836, for the *Beaver* had become a veritable symbol of the difference of opinion between the Committee and Simpson on the one hand, and McLoughlin on the other, regarding the conduct of the coastal trade. Indeed, McLoughlin commenced his defence of his own policy with the following statement: "I know of no difference of opinion in regard to carrying on the opposition with energy, except that I consider the same object may be accomplished without incurring the expence of purchasing a steam Boat"²—a view which, he pointed out, he had expressed as early as 1833. In his opinion the cost of the *Beaver* was money thrown away, since she was unnecessary and probably unsuitable for use on the coast. So convinced was he of this that a full year before the *Beaver* arrived, McLoughlin asked Simpson what he was to do with her if and when she proved a failure. He was confident that she would not "be found to answer the expectations of those who suggested such a Vessel", and added: "... if the Steamboat is found on full trial not to answer so well as expected, will you please inform me, if we are nevertheless to keep her or send her home or sell her."³

But, as we have seen, the real difference lay deeper than this. McLoughlin was convinced that trading posts were more effective than ships in the coastal trade. He was anxious to keep the trading fleet down to an irreducible minimum; and as early as 1831 he considered that it would need to consist of no more than "two small vessels and probably only one".⁴ In May, 1834, he had forwarded to London a comparative statement of the maintenance costs of ships and posts which showed that the financial advantage was clearly with the latter.⁵ From this view McLoughlin never wavered; and it is no wonder that the number of

¹ B. 223/c/1, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, August 28, 1835.

² B. 223/b/15, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, April 9, 1836. See p. 145.

³ D. 4/127, fo. 69, McLoughlin to Simpson, March 3, 1835.

⁴ B. 223/b/10, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, May 28, 1834. See p. 117.

⁵ *Ibid.*, see p. 119.

vessels sent out from England, and the substantial sums expended on new construction, aroused his indignation. Thus in 1836 there were no less than seven vessels employed on the coast, or in the carrying trade to and from England, and there would have been eight if the small schooner *Vancouver* had not been wrecked early in 1834. Four of the seven were vessels of 200 tons or more—the *Columbia*, *Ganymede*, *Dryad*, and *Nereide*. The others were the smaller *Lama*, the schooner *Cadboro*, and the steamer *Beaver*.

McLoughlin was wrong in thinking that the difference of opinion with his superiors was confined to the shipping question, for it extended to the actual conduct of the coastal trade. Both Simpson and the Governor and Committee constantly reminded McLoughlin that he was expected to meet opposition, especially that offered by the Americans, with uncompromising vigour. But to McLoughlin these tactics seemed needlessly expensive. Whereas the Committee was distressed to hear that the American trading ships were securing any furs at all, McLoughlin was not greatly perturbed unless they succeeded in securing sufficient skins to make their voyages a paying venture. The Americans had no trading posts or land organization to make good their losses; if they made no profit they would soon disappear. In McLoughlin's own words, "our policy ought to be to collect a sufficiency of Furs to make our opponents lose money; as to attempt to prevent their getting any Furs would be to spoil the trade still more and not answer the purpose more effectually . . ." ¹

The similarity between McLoughlin's strategy on the coast, and his handling of the opposition offered by Wyeth, will be apparent. So long as the opposition, whether on land or sea, was compelled to trade under conditions which ruled out the possibility of profit, McLoughlin was content. Force of circumstances would remove them from the running in due course. To endeavour to prevent an opponent from securing any trade at all would involve much greater expense, would accomplish nothing more in the long run, and might arouse sufficient interest or antagonism to prompt a new and stronger rival to enter the field.

Although the trade had its ups and downs, the Hudson's Bay Company succeeded, over a period of years, in breaking the hold which the American trading ships had secured on the coast. In 1833 the Company had the trade to themselves, as not a single American vessel appeared. "We have no apprehension of annoyance on the coast from the Americans", Simpson reported to the Governor and Committee in 1834, "they now

¹ B. 223/b/15, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, April 9, 1836. See p. 145.

admit that we are masters of the trade . . .”¹ But this optimistic pronouncement proved premature, for at the very time that Simpson was writing the opposition had reappeared on the coast, and McLoughlin was again faced with that perennial and exasperating problem, a shortage of goods. In March the *Vancouver* was lost, with all her cargo, and the *Nereide* did not arrive from England until late in April. In reporting the poor results of the season’s trading to Simpson, McLoughlin explained that “until that Vessel arrived, we had not the Goods to supply the Coast, and the demand for Goods exceeded so much the calculations previously made, that to prevent being reduced to the necessity of shutting Shop I directed Mr. Ogden to raise his Tariff to two skins p. Blanket.”²

Very few of the district reports upon the coastal trade at this time have survived. The most important document available is the long letter addressed to McLoughlin in September, 1836, by Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson, who had taken charge of the coastal trade the previous year.³ The text is printed complete in Appendix A to this volume. It will be noted that American vessels were still visiting the coast at that time, and that Finlayson devoted much attention to the “hot opposition” furnished by the *Peabody* and *Lagrange*. Having sold substantial shipments of supplies to the Russians at Sitka at a good profit, they had next turned to the fur trade. Finlayson’s comment is significant: “It is not only the number of skins which these vessels collect, that causes serious loss but the extravagant prices paid for them, as they dispose of the remainder of their cargoes under prime cost, rather than be at the trouble and expence of carrying it to China where stowage is an object to them; having to take return cargoes from thence to the States.”⁴ In great part it was thus still the Sitka supply trade that made it profitable for American vessels to visit the coast; and although the fact was seldom mentioned in the fur-trade correspondence of the time, it had not been forgotten. Slowly but surely the Governor and Committee, working through the tortuous channels of diplomacy, and using the bill for damages arising from the *Dryad* incident as a weapon, were forcing the Russian American Company to give its attention to the matter; and the long-desired working agreement between the companies was to be signed in 1839.

¹ D. 4/100, Simpson’s 1834 Report, fo. 11d.

² D. 4/127, fos. 68d.-69, McLoughlin to Simpson, March 3, 1835.

³ Peter Skene Ogden was appointed Chief Factor on December 31, 1834, and transferred to New Caledonia in 1835. Finlayson then took charge of the coastal trade.

⁴ B. 223/b/12, Finlayson to McLoughlin, September 29, 1836. See p. 330.

In conclusion it may be noted that the timber trade continued, but the scale of operations remained small. Even the trade with the Sandwich Islands failed to assume much importance. The market offered by the Islands proved to be limited, and it was likely to be flooded at any time by cargoes from the United States or New Zealand. In 1835 the barque *Ganymede* delivered 122,000 feet of lumber and a shipment of salmon to George Pelly, the Company's agent in Honolulu, but the prices secured were so low that the Company lost money. A further difficulty arose because the supplies purchased in the Islands had proven unsatisfactory. Thus in the fall of 1836 McLoughlin found that the Company had credits in Honolulu amounting to about \$12,000, for which he was "much at a loss to find an advantageous investment, every thing hitherto procured at the Islands with the exception of Salt being of inferior quality and much dearer than the same articles could be imported from England".¹

xiv

A minor irritation was added to McLoughlin's troubles when the *Nereide* arrived at Fort Vancouver at the end of her second voyage from England, in September, 1836. On board were the Rev. Herbert Beaver, who had been sent out by the Hudson's Bay Company as Chaplain and Missionary, and Mrs. Beaver. Beaver is said to have been chosen personally by Simpson; if so, the Governor must rarely have made a more unsuitable choice. Peter Skene Ogden remarked in a letter upon the reverend gentleman's "very appropriate name for the fur trade",² but Beaver quickly showed that he was totally incapable of adapting either himself or his creed to the inevitable crudities of a frontier trading post. His complaints were never-ending, and extended to every detail of his life. The cooking satisfied neither him nor Mrs. Beaver. The ration of wine apportioned to the commissioned gentlemen in the Company's service was far below the amount he insisted that he required. The extent and furnishings of his quarters were a constant source of dissatisfaction. Nor was he any less unreasonable about matters directly concerned with his duties as chaplain. There had been a school of sorts at Fort Vancouver since 1833, and when Beaver arrived McLoughlin was glad to place it in his charge; but within a month he was compelled to reverse the decision. Most of the pupils were the children of French Canadians, who were for the most part Roman Catholics, and

¹ B. 223/b/12, fo. 37, McLoughlin to George Pelly, November 15, 1836.

² *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXII, 332, Ogden to John McLeod, February 25, 1837.

McLoughlin saw that the stress which Beaver insisted on placing upon the doctrines of the Church of England would surely give offence. Beaver was not open to argument, and the following excerpt from one of the many notes which passed between him and McLoughlin is typical:

"I was directed by them [the Governor and Committee] to perform the full duties of a parochial Clergyman, of which attendance upon a public School, over which he has the Sole Charge, forms a no small, nor the least serviceable portion. Their design in my appointment was, that I should, to the utmost of my power, without forcing the consciences of Men, form a Christian, a Protestant, and a Church of England Congregation, and I am at a loss to conceive how such an object can be accomplished unless I am permitted to make use of the only known Means of renovating a people, who are almost entirely sunk in ignorance and barbarism."¹

Trouble likewise arose over the conduct of church services. For the benefit of the French Canadians, McLoughlin had been in the habit of holding a brief service in French. He explained in a letter to Beaver, who wished to supplant the service with one of his own, that the only books he used were "a French Bible and a *Penser Y Bien* . . . having no French sermons my discourses were original compositions or translations from the English".² Beaver took exception to every detail of these and other arrangements connected with the service, and pestered McLoughlin with letter after letter. The following extract from one of the longer notes written in reply by McLoughlin shows the pettiness of the matters Beaver pressed upon his attention:

"In the first place I cannot discover how schism can be promoted by the course now pursued in the Canadian service, of reading a portion of scripture a plain practical discourse and uniting in prayer to God, or how division can possibly be produced among persons living, not merely in the open profession of the most opposite religious opinions, but also evincing in all their conduct a marked dislike to each others tenets—again I cannot perceive the impropriety of successively assembling our English and Canadian servants for public worship in the same apartment or by the sound of the same Bell—from your noticing the subject I presume you have detected error in the practice, and I am therefore prepared to hear a more complete exposure of the question, embracing the points of greatest moment and which may prove most conducive to the proposed change in our mode of assembling on the Sabbath."³

¹ B. 223/b/14, fo. 6d., Beaver to McLoughlin, September 30, 1836.

² B. 223/b/15, fo. 65, McLoughlin to Beaver, December 17, 1836.

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 64, same to same, December 16, 1836.

The touch of irony in this passage indicates that when this particular letter was written, some three months after Beaver's arrival, McLoughlin could still find him amusing as well as exasperating. But there was one subject upon which they were destined to differ beyond all hope of compromise—the marital state of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Indian and half-breed women with whom they lived. So far as the Company and the men were concerned, their relations had been regularized, whenever desired, by the so-called fur-trade marriages, the legal status of which was proven later in the celebrated case arising out of the will of Chief Factor William Connolly. But in Beaver's opinion they were one and all living in sin. In February, 1837, Chief Trader James Douglas, McLoughlin's assistant at Fort Vancouver, was married to Amelia Connolly, his wife by fur-trade custom, by Herbert Beaver, and this may account in part for the fact that Douglas and Beaver got along together reasonably well. But McLoughlin evidently could not bring himself to permit Beaver to perform a ceremony in his own case. Doubtless he felt that to do so would amount to an admission of the justice of Beaver's views. Unfortunately Mrs. McLoughlin's history, details of which no doubt became known to Beaver, was such as to make her peculiarly vulnerable to narrow-minded criticism. She had been first married, fur-trade fashion, to Alexander McKay, of the North West Company, who later entered the service of Astor's Pacific Fur Company. He was killed when the *Tonquin* was destroyed in Clayoquot Sound, in 1811. For long it was politely assumed that it was only after news of McKay's death reached the East that she became the wife, once again after the custom of the fur trade, of John McLoughlin. But the records regarding the matter, though scanty, show clearly that this was not so. Everything suggests that McKay had deserted her, or parted from her by mutual consent, before he left for the Pacific Coast; and there was therefore nothing irregular about McLoughlin's relations with her, even before McKay's death.¹ But the view that the Rev. Herbert Beaver would take of the whole episode can readily be imagined.

The Beavers arrived before the vessel carrying the annual returns to London left the Columbia, and they came to the conclusion that it would be wise to return forthwith in her to England. This decision was altered by the receipt of a petition, signed by thirty-four Protestants and twenty-four Roman Catholics, begging Beaver to remain. How or by whom the document was circulated does not appear. Having decided to stay, one would have thought that Beaver would endeavour to preserve

¹ See *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXVI, T. C. Elliott, "Marguerite Wadin McKay McLoughlin", pp. 338-47.

relations of some sort with McLoughlin; but neither common sense nor compromise had any part in his makeup. The breach with McLoughlin was soon complete, and the duty of keeping the peace between the two seems to have fallen upon James Douglas. The resulting state of armed neutrality continued until March, 1838, when it came to McLoughlin's knowledge that Beaver had referred to Mrs. McLoughlin in a report forwarded to the Governor and Committee, first as "a female of notoriously loose character", and subsequently as "the kept Mistress of the highest personage in your service at this station".¹ The consequences were immediate and violent. Happening to encounter Beaver in the courtyard of Fort Vancouver, McLoughlin lost his temper, and assaulted Beaver on the spot. Beaver later described the encounter as follows:

"I was walking across the Fort-yard to speak to my wife, who was standing at the door of our house, when this monster in human shape . . . advanced towards us, apparently in a violent passion, and upon my making way for him to pass, he came behind me, kicked me several times, and struck me repeatedly with his fists on the back of the neck. Unable to cope with him, from the immense disparity of our relative size and strength, I could not prevent him from wrenching out of my hands a stout stick, with which I was walking, and with which he next inflicted several severe blows on my shoulders. He then seized me from behind, round my waist, and attempted to dash me on the ground, exclaiming, '*you scoundrel, I will have your life.*' In the meantime, the stick had fallen to the ground; my wife, on the impulse of the moment, picked it up; he took it, to use the epithet of an eye-witness, '*very viciously*' out of her hands, and again struck me with it severely; we were then separated by the intervention of other persons."²

Fortunately McLoughlin left the Columbia on furlough a few days after this incident; and it is significant that the chaplain sailed for England before McLoughlin returned to his post at Fort Vancouver in 1839.

XV

The story of the growth of American interest in Oregon, and of the missionary and colonizing efforts in which it resulted, will be considered

¹ B. 223/b/19, fos. 9d. and 10d., Beaver to the Governor and Committee, October 10, 1837.

² *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXIX, p. 31. See also *ibid.*, pp. 65-73, R. C. Clark, "Reverend Herbert Beaver"; and for excerpts from a few of the many letters which passed between Beaver and McLoughlin, see *The Beaver*, September, 1941, pp. 10-13, "Mr. Beaver Objects . . ."

in a later volume. All that need be done here is to indicate that those developments were clearly imminent by the end of McLoughlin's first lengthy term of office, in 1838. The appearance of Wyeth in 1832, and again in 1834, marked the extension of the activities of Americans from the Snake Country to the valley of the Columbia River itself; and there was never again a time when there were no American citizens, proclaiming themselves as such, in the region.

With Wyeth in 1834, came the Rev. Jason Lee, a Methodist missionary, and a number of followers. Lee's party, and the reinforcements which joined it from time to time, represented an active interest in Oregon on the part of a substantial number of persons in the Eastern United States. In 1835 there arrived at Fort Vancouver the Rev. Samuel Parker, who had been sent to spy out the land by a Board of Foreign Missions representing the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Dutch Reformed churches. He prepared the way for the coming, in September, 1836, of the best-known of all the early missionaries, Dr. Marcus Whitman, accompanied by his wife and seven other persons. The Methodists, upon McLoughlin's advice, had settled in the Willamette Valley; but to McLoughlin's uneasiness the Whitman party chose to go east of Fort Vancouver, into the country of the dangerous Nez Percés Indians.

Other small events which were to lead to important happenings call for notice in any chronicle of the time, however brief. In the fall of 1834 Ewing Young, accompanied by Hall J. Kelley, appeared at Fort Vancouver. A false report having reached McLoughlin from California that Young was a horse thief, the welcome accorded to them was not at first cordial. Young settled in Oregon, but Kelley returned to the United States. McLoughlin helped Kelley on his way,¹ but attached no great importance to his going; but he had nonetheless turned away in wrath a man who became a fanatical and influential propagandist, urging on the cause of American intervention in and ownership of Oregon. A year or two later the pen of Washington Irving produced, first, *Astoria*, and next *Captain Bonneville*, two popular accounts of the activities of American fur traders in the Far West which enjoyed great success and which helped to rouse interest in the country beyond the Rocky Mountains.

In addition to traders and missionaries, scientists occasionally visited Fort Vancouver. The earliest of these were two botanists, David Douglas and Dr. John Scouler, who arrived in the *William and Ann* in 1825. Scouler left in the autumn with the brig, but Douglas spent several seasons botanizing in the Columbia. In 1834 Wyeth brought

¹ See p. 127.

with him, in addition to the Jason Lee party, John Kirk Townsend, an ornithologist, and Thomas Nuttall, the botanist. One and all received a cordial welcome; and so frequent did the calls upon McLoughlin's hospitality become that he was taken to task by the Governor and Committee, and charged with keeping open house at the expense of the Company.

The most significant of McLoughlin's visitors was William A. Slacum, who arrived in the American brig *Loriot* late in December, 1836. Slacum stated that he had come "to view the country and at the same time expected to meet some friends with whom he intended to cross the continent".¹ But McLoughlin was suspicious, and with good reason, for in reality Slacum had been commissioned privately by the United States Government "to obtain some specific and authentic information in regard to the inhabitants of the country in the neighborhood of the Oregon or Columbia river".² In spite of its strong prejudices and many inaccuracies the lengthy report which he prepared is an interesting and valuable account of the Columbia Valley as it was early in 1837. In the present connection its most notable features are three in number. First, Slacum looked upon the Columbia as being already a part of the United States, just as Johnson Gardner had done when he met Peter Skene Ogden in 1825, and as many others had done after him. For example, Slacum protested, apparently in all sincerity, against the "unauthorized introduction of large quantities of British goods within the territorial limits of the United States" by the Hudson's Bay Company. He assured the residents of the Willamette Valley that "they were located within the territorial limits of the United States". In the second place, although he had a few good words to say of McLoughlin, Slacum was severe in his judgment of the Hudson's Bay Company. He declared that the retired servants who had settled in the Willamette remained "subject to the *protection* and authority, otherwise *thralldom*" of the Company; he described it as an "immense foreign monopoly established in our own waters", against which no individual American trader could hope to compete; the Company supplied the Indians with arms and ammunition, and its policy was "calculated to perpetuate the institution of slavery" amongst them. Finally, Slacum carried back to Washington a glowing account of the Oregon Country, and urged the United States to take action to gain possession of it, once and for all. The Willamette Valley he described as "the finest grazing country in the world". And a page

¹ B. 223/b/15, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, January 17, 1837. See p. 185.

² *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XIII, p. 180.

or two later he added: "I hope our claim to 54° of north latitude will never be abandoned; at all events, we should never give up Pugitt's sound, nor permit free navigation of the Columbia, unless, indeed, a fair equivalent was offered, such as the free navigation of the St. Lawrence."¹

Meanwhile the settlement issue was looming on the horizon. It was raised first by freemen and discharged servants, whose desire to remain in the country, contrary to the specific instructions of the Company, was a constant source of trouble to McLoughlin.

Settlement on any scale would obviously imperil the fur trade, and the attractions of the Willamette had long been known to and been a source of anxiety to the Hudson's Bay Company. As early as 1826 Peter Skene Ogden had returned from the Snake Country by way of the valley, and had been impressed with its possibilities. His journal reads: "With the exception of the falls not a ripple to be seen; a finer stream than the Willamette is not to be found; soil good; wood of all kinds in abundance; roots, elk, deer, salmon and sturgeon abundant; man could reside here and with but little industry enjoy every comfort . . . No doubt ere many years a colony will be formed on the stream, and I am of opinion it will, with little care, flourish, and settlers, by having a seaport so near them, with industry, might add greatly to their comforts and to their happiness."² Even before McLoughlin's arrival a number of freemen had settled in the valley, and from time to time the Company made efforts to remove them, lest they should form the nucleus of a colony. In later years McLoughlin recalled that he had "in 1828 formed the party of trappers Under Mr. Chief trader Alex. R. McLeod [the "Southern" party of that year] to hunt towards the Bonaventura in the hope that we would find a place Where we could Employ our Willamette freemen so as to remove them from a place where they were Anxious to begin to farm."³ Then followed the historic request of Etienne Lucier, a servant of the Company whose time had expired, that he might be supplied with farming implements and permitted to settle in the valley—a request which, for reasons of expediency, McLoughlin felt it necessary to grant in 1829. From this beginning a settlement was to grow, and both McLoughlin and Simpson realized fully that it was both natural and inevitable that it should. They could do no more than try to keep its inhabitants friendly to the Company, and trust that the remoteness

¹ For the complete text of Slacum's report see *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XIII., pp. 176-224.

² *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, X, "Ogden's Journals", pp. 364-5.

³ See p. 173.

of the region would prevent any large immigration which would interfere with the fur trade.

In November, 1836, McLoughlin was at last moved to put the matter squarely up to the Committee: "Pugets Sound to St. Francisco is a much finer Country than Canada or New York. The soil is better in Many places and the Climate is Milder and as such a country will not remain long without settlers It Remains for your Honors to Decide whether you will Allow the Old Servants of the company to settle in it."¹ Two years later James Douglas was taking an "influx of American Settlers" for granted—indeed he was counting upon it to raise the value of the holdings of the French Canadians sufficiently high to enable them to sell out to the Americans for a good price, and to resettle in the Cow-litz Valley, north of the Columbia River, in what it was presumed would become British territory.²

The seriousness of the situation was not lost on the Governor and Committee, and it is interesting to find that, for their part, they were suspicious of the motives of the missionaries. The latter were to be allowed to purchase supplies, but were not to be encouraged. "... Were we satisfied that the sole objects of those Missionaries, were the civilization of the Natives and the diffusion of moral and religious instruction", the Committee wrote late in 1837, "we should be happy to render them our most cordial support and assistance, but we have all along forseen that the purport of their visit was not confined to those objects, but that the formation of a Colony of United States Citizens on the banks of the Columbia was the main or fundamental part of their plan, which, if successful, might be attended with material injury, not only to the Fur trade, but in a national point of view."³

Before settlement progressed far it was obvious that the long dormant boundary question would come to the fore. This conviction served to strengthen the old desire to move the district depot away from Fort Vancouver, a proposal which had reappeared about 1834. The fever epidemics which had swept the lower Columbia Valley in 1830 and subsequent years had convinced the Governor and Committee that the site of Fort Vancouver was unhealthy. The increasing importance of the coastal trade seemed to them an additional reason for moving the depot further north. In 1835 they suggested that it should be removed

¹ B. 223/b/12, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, November 16, 1836. See p. 174.

² B. 223/b/20, James Douglas to the Governor and Committee, October 18, 1838. See p. 340.

³ A. 6/24, fo. 114, Governor and Committee to Douglas, November 15, 1837.

“ to Whidby’s Island, Pugets Sound, or some other eligible situation, easy of access, as we consider the danger of crossing the Columbia Bar too great a risk to be run by the Annual Ships from and to England, with the Outfits and returns ”.¹ McLoughlin parried this question by pointing out that regardless of where the depot was located, Fort Vancouver would have to remain the supply centre for the interior; that the Columbia bar was not as dangerous as represented, and that, in any event, the supplies and returns from the inland posts would have to continue to cross it, whether bound from and to England or from and to a new depot.² In 1837 McLoughlin postponed the matter a second time by stating that no site suitable for a depot had yet been found. A few months later, however, in the spring of 1838, Chief Trader James Douglas reported to Simpson that Captain McNeill, while cruising in the steamer *Beaver*, “ had examined the east and Southern Coast of Vancouvers Island in search of an eligible spot for the erection of a new establishment . . . ” Douglas’s description makes it clear that McNeill examined the inlets now known as Sooke, Esquimalt, and Victoria harbours, and that he was much taken with the last-named of the three. A sample of soil brought to Fort Vancouver seemed to Douglas “ rather light ”, but he was nevertheless “ persuaded that no part of this sterile & Rock bound Coast will be found better adapted for the site of the proposed Depot or to combine, in a higher degree, the desired requisites, of a secure harbour accessible to shipping at every season, of good pasture, and, to a certain extent, of improvable tillage land.”³ Thus did Douglas pave the way for the removal of the district headquarters to Vancouver Island, where he himself was destined later to play so prominent a part.

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It was not until March, 1837, over twelve years after his arrival, that McLoughlin announced officially that he would like to leave the Columbia on furlough in the near future. Writing to Simpson, he stated that he wished “ to pay a visit to the civilized world in 1838, 1839 or 1840, as may be found most convenient . . . ”⁴ Unknown to McLoughlin, the Governor and Committee had already taken steps with

¹ A. 6/23, fo. 154, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, December 8, 1835.

² B. 223/b/12, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, November 15, 1836. See p. 155.

³ B. 223/b/20, Douglas to Simpson, March 18, 1838. See pp. 286-7.

⁴ B. 223/b/15, fo. 78, McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1837.

that end in view. In January they had written to McLoughlin himself, asking him to prepare to come to England as soon as possible, and to bring with him all available journals and evidence relating to the *Dryad* incident of 1834. They explained that the statement of damage he had submitted had in certain respects not been sufficiently explicit, and they were anxious to be able to prove their claim, if the case came on for a hearing.¹ Simpson was notified of this, and in June the Council of the Northern Department resolved "That Chief Factor John McLoughlin be instructed to proceed to England via Cape Horn agreeably to the instructions contained in the 4th paragraph of the Governor & Committee's Dispatch of Feby. 1837."² When the time came McLoughlin failed to sail in the barque *Sumatra* for London as expected, because, as he explained to the Committee, his health was "not in that state to allow me undertake so long a sea voyage . . ."³ His departure was therefore delayed until the spring of 1838, when he travelled eastward with the overland express.

It was indeed high time that McLoughlin discussed the affairs of his district personally with his superiors. Eight years had passed since he had seen Simpson or attended a Council. Many and important difficulties and differences of opinion had developed, and a definite sense of strain had crept into McLoughlin's letters both to Simpson and to the Governor and Committee. It can scarcely be without significance that in 1836, when McLoughlin acknowledged with dutiful thanks the Committee's delayed sanction to the grants totalling £1,100 which had been proposed by the Council in 1834, he added that "Without some such decided mark of your preference, I would have been left in doubt with regard to the general estimation of my services . . ."⁴ Even more revealing is the fact that as soon as they thought McLoughlin had left Fort Vancouver, the Governor and Committee addressed the following remarks "to James Douglas or the Officer superintending the Columbia Department":

" . . . We cannot help remarking that it appears to us there has been less system observed in the application of the services of Officers and men in the Columbia Departmt. of late than desirable, and that projects

¹ A. 6/24, fos. 67-8, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, January 25, 1837.

² Oliver, *The Canadian North-West*, II, 758. Minutes of Council, June, 1837.

³ B. 223/b/18, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, October 31, 1837. See p. 215.

⁴ B. 223/b/12, McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee, November 15, 1836. See p. 164.

are entered on the spur of the moment, whereby other important branches of the business are not sufficiently attended to; in the Fur trade as in all other branches of business, a regular system of action should be laid down as long in advance as possible, and followed up as far as circumstances may admit: and it is desirable on a general principle that the plan of operation should be submitted both to us and the Council, and that it should not be deviated from unless rendered necessary by pressing unforeseen circumstances.”¹

Duncan Finlayson had suffered from ill-health in 1836-37, and for that reason left the Columbia in the spring of the latter year. No Chief Factor was assigned to replace him, and in McLoughlin's absence the Columbia District was divided temporarily into three jurisdictions. In their letter of November 15, 1837, the Governor and Committee informed James Douglas that Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden would remain in charge of New Caledonia, while the inland posts of the Columbia were placed under Samuel Black, who that day had been promoted to the rank of Chief Factor. To Chief Trader James Douglas, then only thirty-four years of age, was entrusted “Fort Vancouver and the lower establishments of the Columbia; likewise the Coasting Trade, Expeditions, Shipping &c.”²

McLoughlin left Fort Vancouver on March 22, 1838. On his way to Norway House he met his old friend John Tod. Judging from the account of the meeting sent by Tod to Edward Ermatinger, the chief topic of conversation appears to have been the rebellion of 1837. The passage reads: “The Doctor, who has at length descended from his roost, I met in Lake Winnipeg—we breakfasted together, & talked incessantly all the while on the late events of Canada—he was strenuous in support of that arch rebel Pappeneau & his party. I took the liberty to say in a jocund way that it was fortunate for him, he had not been with me last winter, otherwise I should have most probably been now carying an account of his trial, for the gratification of his friends...”³ McLoughlin's attitude can scarcely have increased his popularity with Simpson, who had given the Crown valuable support during the rebellion; and the incident recalls to mind the remarks on McLoughlin's radical tendencies which Simpson had noted in his “Character Book” in 1832.

¹ A. 6/24, fos. 113d.-114, Governor and Committee to James Douglas . . . , November 15, 1837.

² *Ibid.*, fo. 113. Cf. Oliver, *The Canadian North-West*, II, 767, Minutes of Council, June, 1837.

³ Tod to Ermatinger, July 12, 1838. Ermatinger Papers (transcript in Archives of British Columbia).

Continuing on by way of Norway House and Red River, McLoughlin arrived in Montreal on August 1. If he carried out the intention there expressed he sailed later in the month from New York for Bristol in the famous *Great Western*, the first steamship specially designed for the trans-Atlantic trade. Early in September he was in Paris, once more visiting his brother David. Later in the autumn he proceeded to London, there to consider at length with Simpson and the Governor and Committee the problems and prospects of the Hudson's Bay Company in the vast area to the west of the Rocky Mountains.

McLOUGHLIN'S FORT VANCOUVER LETTERS

Fort Vancouver 6th Octr. 1825¹

To The Govr. Deputy Govr. & Committee
Honble. Hudsons Bay Company London.

HONORABLE SIRS

I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 24th² July 1824 with the several documents p. the *William and Ann*³ which cast Anchor opposite Fort George on the 11th April last and I am sorry to say part of her Cargo was wet, fortunately the Dry Goods are not injured nor indeed is any part of the Cargo except the Flour and Meal. The Barrels of Both are very bad, we will lose about a seventh of the Flour and Meal. The Gunpowder is damper than any we have hitherto had and there is no appearance of Water having reached the Powder Barrels. The Pork and Beef are not so good as we have hitherto had and the Barrels are very bad, the Bricks are of a very inferior quality.

2. The only Article of which we are short this year is Tobacco. We expect some from York, should none be sent we hope with what we have the Trade will not suffer any important injury.

¹ D. 4/6, fos. 45-56. Copied in Governor Simpson's outward correspondence book. The first dispatch from McLoughlin to the Governor and Committee appearing in the Fort Vancouver correspondence books (B. 223/b series) is dated September 1, 1826. See p. 24.

² A. 6/21, fos. 10d.-11d. This letter book copy is dated July 22, 1824.

³ The cedar brig *William and Ann*, of about 161 tons, was built in Bermuda in 1818 and purchased by the Company, together with her stores, for £1,500 in 1824. She made two successful voyages from London to the Columbia during 1824-28. On September 16, 1828, she left Plymouth for the Columbia in command of Captain J. P. Swan, for service in the coasting trade. See pp. 71-3 for an account of her wreck in March, 1829. Her logs for 1824-28 are in C. 1/1065-9.

3. As soon as possible after the Receipt of your Honors directions¹ I made up such an Outfit as I considered necessary for the Coasting Trade and Wrote Captain Hanwell² the Note A informing him every thing was ready to Ship. In answer he wrote he could not be ready before the 20th May as appears by note B. On the Eleventh of May I wrote Captain Hanwell Note C and sent him a Copy of two documents we have on the Coasting Trade (the Originals of which Gov. Simpson took with him for Your Honors perusal). In answer on the 19th Captain Hanwell handed me note D³. On the 21st I gave thirteen Owhyhees to the Captain to Strengthen this Crew of the Vessel on the intended Voyage. On the 25th I started from Fort George (Where I had been since the 18th Expecting the Vessel would Start about the 20th) for this place. On the 29th Mr. McKenzie⁴ embarked, and the Vessel went over the Bar on the Second June. With this you will receive an account of the Goods put on Board—a copy of my instructions E⁵ to Mr. McKenzie and of my Letters to Captain Hanwell F⁶.

4. On Captain Hanwells Stating to me that the Vessel would require great repairs, I directed Mr. McKenzie who was in charge of Fort George to postpone every other object and give Captain Hanwell every assistance the place could afford. I sent from this a Caulker (Captain Hanwells Carpenter being unwell and the two come out for this place do not know

¹ A. 6/21, fo. 11, Governor and Committee to Chief Factors in charge of the Columbia District, July 22, 1824, "... our object in dispatching the *William & Ann* thus early, is, that as soon as she has delivered her outward bound cargo she should proceed to the Northward to ascertain if there are any good harbours on the coast, and whether a beneficial trade may not be carried on with the Natives. The principal point to which we have directed Capt. Hanwells attention is the Portland Canal."

² Henry Hanwell, Junior. See Appendix B, p. 345.

³ B. 223/b/1, fo. 27, contains Notes A and C. No copies of Notes B and D or of the documents on the coasting trade have been found.

⁴ Alexander McKenzie. See H[udson's] B[ay Company] S[eries], Vol. 111, R. Harvey Fleming (ed.), *Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31* (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1940, and London, The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1940), p. 447.

⁵ B. 223/b/1, fos. 27-8.

⁶ B. 223/b/1, fos. 28-28d.

to caulk) we got the Iron Works required for the Vessel made and Supplied the timber.

5. In consequence of what was to be done at this place it was impossible I could (as Your Honors suggested) go on this voyage, I therefore sent Mr. Alexander McKenzie, this Gentleman speaks the Chinook language and I consider is fully adequate to do all that was to be done. There was with Mr. McKenzie a Chinook who speaks the Nootka Tongue and by his means our people were able to hold Intercourse with People of that Nation.

6. In my Instructions to Mr. McKenzie you will observe that I direct him to consider himself under the directions of Captain Hanwell. But at the same time gave my opinion verbally to the Captain that in dealing with Indians he ought to allow Mr. McKenzie to act as he thought proper as from his knowledge of the Indian and the Nature of the Trade he was better able to deal with them than the Captain was to direct.

7. As we were unacquainted with the Goods suited to the Coasting Trade I sent a share of every Trading Article in the Store so as to discover those best adapted for the Trade and Endeavour to find a Market for Several articles which are a dead Stock on our hands. I even directed them to be sold at Inventory Costs if no more could be got for them, as being preferable to keeping them on hand and losing Interest on them from Year to Year.

8. As I considered it almost certain that the Concern would carry on the Coasting Trade I gave the Captain a list of all the places we know are frequented by Traders and advised him to touch at them going and coming if convenient, so as to Spread among the Coasters the news of our Entering on the Trade, which I think would tend to discourage these Adventurers from following it any longer as they must be aware that we can afford to undersell them by carrying on this business in conjunction with an Extension Inland Trade; in furtherance of this I told Mr. McKenzie to undersell any Trader he found on the Coast.

9. In my Letter to Captain Hanwell I dissuade him from proceeding inside of Vancouvers Island and even of returning

that way for the Reasons stated in my Letter to him, and that we are aware there is no large River communicating with the Interior from this to where Sir Alexr. McKenzie descended to the Ocean Except Frazers River, the Entrance of which was discovered last fall by Mr. McMillan¹ and I was of opinion that had you known this you would have directed him to devote the time he would take to Examine the Inside of Vancouvers Island to be employed in acquiring a knowledge of other places; at the same time on his way back if he has time I advise him to touch at Port Discovery as we want to open a trade with the Natives of that place and I also advised him to go to the Entrance of Frazers River that he may be able to give you his observations on it and confirm the Natives in the hopes we will form an Establishment on their Lands.

10. By Gov. Simpsons Letters dated Fort George 10th March you were informed it was determined on last fall to remove the Establishment from that place² and after Mr. Kennedy³ and I had examined the North Banks of the Columbia from Chinook Point to this Spot we found no eligible Situation to Build on nigher the Entrance of the River on the North Side than where we now are. The Banks of the

¹ See Frederick Merk, (ed.) *Fur Trade and Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pp. 248-50 and *H.B.S.*, III, pp. 450-1.

² D. 4/88, fos. 28d.-29, Simpson to Governor and Committee, March 10, 1825. "Fort George . . . we are merely in possession of by sufferance as it was ceded to and taken formal possession of by the American Govt. in the year 1818 by orders of the British Govt. altho' it was really and bona fide our property by purchase having been bought by the North West Compy. from the Pacific Fur Compy. in the year 1813 for the sum of £200. Were the Americans to make their appearance they would as a matter of course demand possession of their Fort which we should be under the necessity of delivering up . . . by putting off the evil Day we are merely accommodating our opponents by improving and keeping in repair a Fort for their reception . . . by abandoning it at once it will to them be useless and we can at no expence and little inconvenience erect a Fort sufficient for all the purposes of Trade." See Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 73, 240-2, and 258.

³ Chief Factor Alexander Kennedy. See H[udson's] B[ay Company] S[eries], Vol. II, E. E. Rich and R. Harvey Fleming (eds.), *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, September 1817 to September 1822* (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1939, and London, The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1939), pp. 224-5.

River up to here are either too Steep, high and Rocky or So low that they are inundated when the Water rises.

11. I never was in Bakers Bay or at Cape Disappointment but Mr. Kennedy who had been there Said there was no Situation at either of those places to answer our purpose; as to Point Ellice, the Bank of the River is so steep, high and Rocky and Surface of the Ground so uneven and covered with such large Trees that it would be too expensive to build there.

12. But in case Cape Disappointment Should become an Object of Importance as it commands the Entrance of the River for large Vessels, I will avail myself of the first opportunity and get a temporary Hut erected there to Strengthen our claim by Occupancy.

13. Immediately on Mr. Kennedy and my Return to Fort George a party was sent to begin building at this place and every Endeavour was made to leave Fort George as soon as possible But in Spite of all our Exertions we only abandoned it on the Seventh June and we will continue our Improvements at this place till we receive orders to the contrary from Your Honors or the Council.

14. We were a longer time in removing from Fort George in consequence of a War breaking out between the Natives about that place caused by Concommley's¹ Son getting one of his Slaves to ass[ass]inate another Chief of the Chinook Tribe close to the Fort and the Indians collecting about the place either to revenge the assasination or Support the assasin. I was afraid they might be encouraged by their numbers (and seeing the few men about the place) to attempt to take the Fort to possess themselves of the property in it. I therefore Sent a Reinforcement to Fort George and this for a time put a Stop to our transporting the property and even in a great measure to our work at this place.

15. On the 18th March Govr. Simpson, Messrs. Kennedy and McMillan left this for the East Side of the Mountains. On the 24th April the Brigade returned from the Interior and from the 26th of that month we had all the Boats about the

¹ See *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XL, A. G. Harvey, "Chief Concomly's Skull," pp. 161-167.

place constantly employed in transporting the Property from Fort George to this place till 11th June, when the last Boats arrived here.

16. On the 21st June the Brigade for the Interior Started, consisting of five Boats manned by thirtytwo men including the Guide.

17. As it was important the Brigade should proceed with all possible dispatch to the Interior, where there was a great deal to be done, and the Boats being weaker manned than usual and as heavily loaded as formerly, to guard as much as possible against accidents Especially as it could be done without Expense, I sent thirteen men in a Boat to assist the Brigade past the Chûtes.

18. Six of the men in the Brigade are furnished from this Establishment and are sent to complete the crews, they of course will return in the Fall. In the mean time they will transport the Outfit sent from this for the Rocky Mountain House to that place and were to assist in removing the Establishment from Spokane to the Kettle Falls.

19. I send you a List of the Officers and men¹ at present attached for the winter to the different Departments in this District.

20. I have only sent to the Interior the Supplies necessary (with the Remains inland of last years Outfit) for one years Expenditure except in the article of ammunion, of which there is an extra allowance. It is too evidently the Interest of the Concern to require comment that there should never be on hand at any post in the Interior in the Spring more goods than are required for the summer trade, and in consequence of sending less property into the Interior than usual I was enabled to send the Outfit for the Snake Freeman to Walla Walla.

21. When Gov. Simpson left this it was expected, as had been settled with Mr. Ogden, that he was to come to Fort George with the Snake freemen, but by Letters received from him it appeared he intended coming to Walla Walla and Gov. Simpson wrote me from the Forks of Spokane to forward

¹ This list has not been traced.

a few of the most necessary pieces, But finding I had the means of forwarding the whole Outfit to Walla Walla I did it, from that place it may be transported to Spokane and the Flat Heads (if necessary) by horses purchased for the freemen.

22. I considered it important to send the Snake Outfit to Walla Walla as at the time we had an account of a Battle between the Cai-ouses, Nez Perces and Snakes and this might prevent his being able to come to Walla Walla and force him to go to the Flat Heads where it would be impossible to send his Outfit from this place, and if Mr. Ogden came out late even to Walla Walla and was obliged to come here for his Supplies it might prevent his returning to his winter grounds and the Concern would in a great measure lose the hunts of this party for a Season.

23. I also sent ninety Bushels of corn and pease and four Kegs Tallow as there was no provisions at Walla Walla and none to be had except Horse Flesh which the freemen would have been obliged to buy at any price and which would have expended their Supplies, spoilt our horse trade and after all not got a Sufficiency to enable them to return in due time to their Hunting Grounds.

24. In sending the Supplies for the Snake freemen to Walla Walla we only did more than was expected we could with our reduced number of men and insured a greater certainty to their getting their supplies in time to return to their hunting ground and took every precaution in my power to guard the concern from the loss of these mens hunts for a season and still had enough at this place to supply them if they come here by the Willamotte.

25. Your Honors will see in my letters¹ No. 2, 3, 4, 5 to which I beg leave to refer you for the particulars of what I propose to be done and only will observe in this that Mr. Ogden is to come down here with his furs if he thinks he can come before the 20th August and that it does not prevent his getting back in time to his hunting ground. Mr. Dease²

¹ B. 223/b/1, fos. 7d.-11. See Appendix A, pp. 294-5, for letter No. 3.

² Chief Trader John Warren Dease. See *H.B.S.*, III, 434.

was to proceed with a party to Nez Perces Forks (the Forks of Lewiss River) to purchase if possible two hundred Horses and to prepare to remove the Fort of Walla Walla to the North Bank of the Columbia. Mr. Work¹ was to remove the Spokane Establishment to the Kettle Falls as had been settled this Spring when Govr. Simpson passed there. But if Mr. Ogden comes out at the Flat Heads Mr. Work is to differ every other Object and with the assistance Mr. Dease can give will convey Mr. Ogdens Outfit to the Flat Heads.

26. I am sorry to have now to say that all our precautions to Secure the freemen getting their Supplies in time have been to no purpose as your Honors will see by Mr. Ogdens Letter² No. and received here on the 8th August giving an account of his being overtaken by a party of Americans when twenty three of his party left him. Nine gave up their Furs, Traps and Horses—the fourteen others took with them their furs traps and horses—among these a Mr. Montour³ formerly a Clerk in the late N.W.Co. Employ, who had seven thousand five hundred and sixty two livres when he went free in 1821 and since put to his credit one hundred and Seventy two Livres and ten Sols. But we do not know whether he has drawn any of this Money or not, however he desired Prudhomme's⁴ and his advances to be paid out of it.

27. I forward a Statement⁵ of every Individuals account who deserted from Mr. Ogden as it stood when they left the Flat Heads last fall; as Mr. Ogden has not sent a Statement of the amount or the particulars given up by the nine above mentioned it was not in my power to put it to their Credit.

¹ John Work. See Appendix B, pp. 356-8.

² Either the letter dated Snake Plains, June 27, 1825 (see Appendix A, pp. 296-9), or another letter from Ogden on the same subject, dated East Fork Missouri, July 10, 1825 (D. 4/119, fos. 12-15). For a substantial excerpt from the first letter and an almost complete transcript of the second letter see *Oregon Hist. Quar.* XXXV, F. Merk, "Snake Country Expedition, 1824-25," pp. 107-116.

³ Nicholas Montour. See Appendix A, pp. 350-1.

⁴ B. 202/a/2, fo. 1d., Snake Country Journal, 1824-25, Bazil Prudhomme was listed as a member of Ogden's party.

⁵ This statement has not been traced.

28. By the desertion of these men the Concern has lost between two and three thousand Skins in furs and their future services, add to this the loss they caused by disabling the Remainder from going to where they intended and finally if the Saskatchewan freemen¹ have determined on abandoning this side of the Mountains we may say the desertion of these men will prevent our getting four thousand Skins annually from that part of the Country.

29. It is certain when Mr. Ogdens men left him he was not on the waters of the Columbia and I think he was Either on the head waters of a River that falls at St. Francisco or on those of a River said to fall into the Ocean a little South of the Umqua, and it appears by Mr. Ogdens being in the place he was when he wrote he is not aware he has no right to hunt on the East Side of the Mountains.²

30. In Reply to Mr. Ogden who wishes to know what is to be done with his remaining party, I have advised if he can still muster a party sufficiently strong and that can be depended on (of which I have my Doubts) to return to the Snakes, but in case this cannot be done he will endeavour to muster a party sufficiently strong to go from Walla Walla to join Mr. Finan McDonald's³ party. Should this also be impracticable he will disperse his trappers (of which he has yet twenty) to hunt in those places he thinks they will make the best hunts and also the Servants (of whom he has eleven) if in his opinion more benefit will be derived from their Services in this way than by

¹ See Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 194.

² A. 6/21, fo. 101, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, September 20, 1826, "We much regret the unfortunate result of Mr. Ogdens expedition . . . it was never our wish that trapping parties should hunt beyond the Neutral ground, which by the Convention of 1818 is to be free to the subjects of Great Britain and the United States for a period of Ten years. Had the spoliation taken place on the West side of the Mountains on the neutral ground, which from the statement of Mr. Ogden appears not to have been the fact, we might have submitted such a case to Ministers, as might have induced them to seek redress or a restitution of the property from the United States Government. . . ." See pp. 40-1, and *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXV, F. Merk, "Snake Country Expedition, 1824-25", p. 104, n. 31, and p. 110, n. 40.

³ See W. S. Wallace (ed.), *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1934), p. 463.

sending them down here to be employed in Endeavouring to Extend the Trade North and South of this place. If necessary Mr. Ogden will accompany the Hunting Party or Send a Clerk but I am of opinion if he disperses his party it is not necessary he should go or send a Clerk, and therefore in case he does not accompany his Trappers he is to take charge of Spokane, get the Establishment moved to the Kettle Falls and be guided in his future proceedings by the directions received this fall from York, which is fully explained in my Letters¹ No. 10, 11, 12, and to which I beg to refer you for further particulars.

31. It was necessary to point out several alternatives to Mr. Ogden as I could not foresee how he would be Situated when he received my Letter, and though he Says the Saskatchewan freemen (of whom he has ten) are determined on returning to that place I hope however he has been able to detain them till he received my answer.

32. Of the different plans laid down to Mr. Ogden I think he will find it most practicable to execute the One to come to Walla Walla and proceed from thence to join Mr. F. McDonald.

33. The freemen it seems complained of their Traps and the prices they pay for their Goods. As to their Traps they are made Stronger Since last year than they used to be and I have written to Mr. Ogden as will be seen by Letter 17² to offer them their Supplies at Walla Walla at the same price as if they took them here to induce them to remain on this side of the Mountains to hunt on the South side of the Columbia.

34. Mr. Finan McDonald left this on the 20th August accompanied by Mr. McKay,³ twentytwo Engagés, two freemen and Six Indians and he has about nine pieces Sundries for trade.

35. Mr. McDonald and his party were detained longer at this place than expected for Reasons mentioned in my Letter

¹ B. 223/b/1, fos. 17d.-21d. For letters Nos. 10 and 11 see Appendix A, pp. 300-04.

² B. 223/b/1, fo. 25d.

³ Thomas McKay. See Appendix B, pp. 347-9.

No. ¹ to which I take the liberty of referring you for the particulars and only observe in this that I detained Mr. McDonald to make his party as strong as possible by sending every man that could be spared from this place.

36. Gov. Simpson in his Letter from Fort George² informed your Honors that as we have more men than were required for the Establishments it was thought advisable to keep them until your Honors decision on the plans proposed was known, in the meantime they were to be employed in hunting which we expect will cover their Expenses and Extend our knowledge of the Country. I send you a Statement³ of the trapping Expedition and a Sketch³ made from Report by Mr. Archibald McDonald, of the Country, of the course this party is to pursue in their hunting Excursion.

37. After the Departure of this party I remained at this place with Mr. Archibald McDonald, Cartier, Laframboise and seven common men including Tradesmen and two of the common men remained because they were unable to accompany Mr. McDonald. I mention this to shew I sent every disposable man I could.

38. I send you the accounts Current³ of the several Departments in this District as correct as they can be made here and have shipped the Furs Separate that you might put their real value to the Credit of the different accounts if you wish to know the Relative value of each. You will please to observe that though the account of the Snakes is distinct and the Furs

¹ Probably No. 13, B. 223/b/1, fos. 21d.-22d., McLoughlin to the Governor, Chief Factors and Chief Traders, August 10, 1825. See Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 253-4. Cf. B. 223/b/1, fo. 23d., August 17, 1825, Observation by McLoughlin, "It was Expected when the Brigade left this [Fort Vancouver] that we would be able to send Mr. [Finan] McDonald and his party on their hunting Expedition about the 5th July but it was then found we could not get our Salmon for Salting unless we sent a party some distance from the Fort and it was impossible to do this without detaining some of Mr. McDonalds men and as this would reduce his party I preferred on detaining the whole till the Salmon was salted, however the quarrel between Cassino and Concomley broke out . . . and on that account I was obliged to detain them until it was settled."

² D. 4/88, fos. 33d.-34d., Simpson to Governor and Committee, March 10, 1825. See also Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 88-9.

³ These documents have not been traced.

shipped separate that you might judge of their quality and form your own opinion on that Branch of the Business yet they must be put to the credit of Spokane as the Snake Outfit &c. is included in that of the former.

39. Of the Returns at Fort George Outfit 1824 about four thousand Beaver are from the North Side, about four hundred from Walla Walla, two thousand from Thompsons River including Okanagan, and about two hundred from Spokane, making a total of Six thousand six hundred Skins of the Returns of 1824 which may be considered as the General average of the yearly Returns of the North Side of the Columbia.

40. By what I have just written in the foregoing Paragraph you will perceive if the Columbia River is the Boundary how much the trade of this District will be curtailed.

41. If the Columbia River is to be the Boundary Thompsons River will of course Remain with us and two thirds of the Furs at present traded here will be cut off from it if we have an Establishment on Frazers River, and I am certain if we are prevented having any trade from the South side of this River we can [not] establish a Post on the north Bank that will pay the Expenses of keeping it up. The Furs hunted on the South Side are killed at such a distance from the River that hardly any of the Natives would come so far to trade with us and we could expect no share of the Furs killed on that side except those of the freemen if they had an easy and safe route to the Snakes where the greater part of them will hunt, and if we could afford to undersell our Competitors to make it an object for the freemen to come to us.

42. It is impossible for me to say what plan would be most advantageous to adopt at the Expiration of the present arrangement between the two Governments¹ if when that occurs the South side of the River becomes American Territory, as that will depend on the measures the Americans may adopt to regulate the trade. But if they should only put their law in

¹The Convention of 1818, which provided that the country west of the Rocky Mountains should be open to the subjects of both Great Britain and the United States for a period of ten years.

force prohibiting British Subjects trading with Indians on their Territory and leave it free to any of their Citizens I am of opinion by selling goods for Ready Money or on credit to such as we thought could pay we would prevent any Adventurers setting up in Opposition—(If they did they would not be able to continue) we would secure the direction of the Business, derive some profit from it, and prevent their interfering directly or indirectly with any part of the North Side ; and I believe this could easily be done as the Goods required for that trade would be brought at little Expense, as a Vessel must come to bring supplies for the coasting Trade and the other places. We ought to be able to undersell all others unless they have greater advantages than we in turning their furs to account as appears by Captain Kelly's¹ remark to our people when he went on board the *William and Ann* and was informed she was a British Vessel immediately Enquired if the East India restrictions were taken off on the trade to Canton. On our people answering they did not know—"Ah very well" says Captain Kelly "as long as they remain we dont care for you, I am well satisfied if I barter my property for seventy five p. Cent Advance" though this latter part is perhaps a mere boast. Yet it is a well known fact that the East India Restrictions as operated against us as a premium in favor of the Americans and has hitherto secured to them the Trade of a Great part of the North West Coast. But to return to the Columbia—If the Americans grant a Monopoly of the Trade of the South Side of the Columbia there is no place on the North Bank that will pay the Expence of keeping up a Post and it will secure to them all the advantages to be derived from the Fur Trade in the Columbia.

43. An Opinion prevailed in the Country (which now seems was ill founded and I merely state it as it accounts for some of our plans last winter) that as Spokane, Kootonais and Flat

¹ In the service of Josiah Marshall of Boston. B. 223/a/1, Journal of Alexander McKenzie on board the *William and Ann*, fos. 19d.-20, July 25, 1825, off Skidegate Inlet, "Capt. Kelly . . . had been on the Coast for the last 6 Years, was now on the eve of going to the Sandwich Islands, from thence to Canton & then return to America."

Heads had been discovered by the late N.W.Co. and posts Established there before the American Fur Company Established Posts on this side the Mountains that, that part of the Country would remain to Great Britain and that the Boundary Line would run up Lewis's River as it is a much larger River of Water than the Columbia before its junction with the Former. If the Line was to run in this way Great Britain would have about half the Lands through which the waters of the Columbia flow.

44. It is certainly a great disappointment to be obliged to give up a Business which we have been a long time in bringing Round and when we had flattered ourselves with the hopes of greatly Extending, as it had been settled previous to Govr. Simpsons departure that I was to send a party to discover the Entrance of a large River in about Latitude 41.¹ But in consequence of my being obliged to send a party on Board the Vessel and to send the Brigade to the Interior as soon as possible I could not do it, however I have conversed with several Indians who have been there and they say the River Extends a great way into the Interior and abounds in Beaver. Some of the Freemen who hunt towards the Multnomah² have been on a Branch of it (and are at my request to penetrate still further) corrob[or]ate this Statement and say the Indians they saw use Beaver Coverings, a proof that Beaver is plentiful. I am of opinion Mr. Ogden was on a Branch of it when the Americans found it. If in my power next year we will have a hunting or trading party on it and I am of opinion the River I allude to will afford as Extensive a trade as the Columbia.

45. I have been particular in my observations from Paragraph 37 to call your attention to these matters and to request that your Honors may favor us with your directions on the different Subjects they Embrace both to relieve the anxiety of the people here who have to contend with an Opposition without knowing your Sentiments and to prevent Irregularities By our knowing what is to be done.

¹ See Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 88-9.

² The Willamette River.

46. In compliance with your directions we have given every assistance to Mr. Douglas¹ which our means afforded and I am only Sorry Situated as we are it has been out of our power to make him as comfortable as we would wish. He expressed a desire of going across the Continent in the Spring. But I informed him this would depend on the Instructions we would receive from York this fall as we might be so situated as not to have it in our power to accomodate him with a passage.

47. It is with Extreme regret I have been obliged to ship the Furs without wrappers; formerly when there were many freemen in the Mult no mah and not a sufficiency of Beaver to employ them they hunted animals and gave a great quantity of Leather, Since they have diminished to the present number we never could get a sufficient quantity for the Expenditure of the place and always took of the old Stock till it is all expended and this year are very short of that article for Shoes for the men. It is certainly unfortunate if the Furs get injured from the want of Coverings; when it was seen the consumption exceeded the Supply the wrappers sent by Captains Ritchie² and Davison³ have not been requested to be sent back, every exertion on our part has been made to get Leather—But the fact is the Indians hereabouts are poor animal Hunters though animals are numerous.

48. I have Shipped our Summer Trade for Outfit 1825 which is not so good as usual owing to the disturbances among the natives and our having so much to do about the place and reduced number of men prevented our going about as much

¹ A. 6/31, fo. 11d. Governor and Committee to Chief Factors in charge of the Columbia District, July 20, 1824. "Mr. [David] Douglas is a Passenger in the *William & Ann*, and is sent by the Horticultural Society for the express purpose of collecting Plants and other subjects of natural history, he will remain with you till next Season, and we desire you will afford every assistance in promoting the object of his Mission." Cf. *The Journal kept by David Douglas during his Travels in North America 1823-1827*, published under the directions of the Royal Horticultural Society (London, 1914).

² Robert Ritchie, master of the brig *Lively*, which was chartered to bring the Columbia trade returns of 1822-23 to England.

³ James Davidson, master of the chartered brig *Vigilant* which sailed from England in November, 1823, with the Columbia outfit for 1824. See pp. 35-6 and n. 3.

as formerly, however now that we have our men we will be able to send about and expect at the end of the Year to have the same quantity of furs as usual.

49. I have shipped three Swan skins and 10 lb. Isinglass as Samples to see what they would Sell for and to know if worth Collecting.

50. I send some Bonds and Certificates signed as requested by Mr. Secretary Smith.

51. Our Expenditure of imported provisions has been greater at this place than it used to be at Fort George. However we have a Sufficiency on hand for the Columbia Frazers River and New Caledonia till fall 1827 and we must be very unfortunate if from the Seed Pease of which we have nine and a half Bushels at present in Store (the produce of three Bushels which though very little is very well considering the Bad quality of the Seed) we have not a Sufficiency of them to Serve as a Substitute for all the Corn that may be required after fall 1827 without making any allowance for the Corn we may raise from the seed to be sent to us this Year.

52. Mr. Alex. McKenzie arrived here on the 8 Ultmo. having left the Vessel at anchor opposite Fort George, and I was very much disappointed to learn that she had only been in Observatory Inlet and up De Fucas Straights. Captain Hanwell being now on the Spot I shall Briefly observe the Motives to appearance by which he was actuated in confining himself to so few Stoppages on the Coast; having failed doing any thing Satisfactory in Observatory Inlet from difficulties that could not be obviated he next turned his attention to Frazers River, thinking the Observations he might be able to make there would tend in a great measure to answer all the purpose that might be expected from the anticipated Communication with the Interior by Simpsons River, and from the Experience he had in Observatory Inlet of constant adverse winds and other difficulties which prevented his being as Expeditious as he could wish he thought no time would be lost along the Coast until that point was settled and accordingly he pushed his way without loss of time for De Fucas Straights and visited the mouth of Frazers River, not to soon in his

opinion, so as to take his Departure for England in time. It may be remarked that Captain Hanwell Should be prevented from falling into an Error of this kind by the Gentleman accompanying him from here. I beg leave to add that by the General Letter I conceive Mr. McKenzie or any other Officer we might send was distinctly placed under the Captain and that my Instructions to Mr. McKenzie were particularly to that Effect and to avail himself of every opportunity he got by the Vessel stopping at any place to acquire all the Information relating to the trade that he could, as may be seen by reference to them, and I considered the whole Responsibility to devolve on the Captain and to him and him alone I explained as amply as I could what was required and which as a Navigator he was fully adequate to Execute. However if there is any disappointment caused by the course followed by Captain Hanwell—In justice to him I must say that he always appeared to me most anxious to afford every Satisfaction to his Employers and in all probability his Zeal to act up to the Letter and purport of your Honors Instructions have misled him in this case contrary to what circumstances required and contrary to what I suggested as may be seen by my Letter to him of ¹ and to what I considered expedient as will appear by reference to the 8th Paragraph of this Letter, as we would have acquired a knowledge of the prices paid for the Furs and of the articles required for the Coasting Trade, all which would be important to know, and for this purpose I gave him the Documents I now Send on the Coasting Trade and to which he answered me in his Note of the 19th May.² The Natives in Observatory Inlet would only give three Beavers for one of our Guns and at Skillegats asked ten Blankets $2\frac{1}{2}$ pts. At Nootka from being less frequented they only asked five for one Sea Otter.

53. Among Articles seen among the Natives were Blankets $3\frac{1}{2}$ Pts. of an inferior quality, Some fine Guns and it is said some have Hand Organs, But in my Opinion we ought only to begin with such articles as we use in the Indian Trade and

¹ May 24, 1825, in B. 223/b/1, fos. 28-28d.

² This note cannot be traced.

that the Indent sent from this with Gov. Simpson will answer every purpose to begin with, and if we find an Opportunity of doing any thing of importance we might apply some of the Goods in Depot for the Inland trade to the Coasting trade. I think it would be preferable to do so even if the Inland trade suffered a little than to allow the Coasters to pick a Sufficient quantity of Furs at a Reasonable rate to induce them to come again, as I consider our object ought to be if there is a Strong Opposition on the Coast as this Year to allow them exhaust themselves; as they have only this market for their Goods, they will sell for what they can get while having an Extensive Inland trade we would be certain of disposing of Ours and would be always ready to take every advantage in the Market. You will see by Mr. McKenzies Journal and Report which I now send You,¹ the very high price Captain Kelly told our people the Sea Otters cost but perhaps the Captain may have wished to disgust them with the Business and if he had the number of Sea Otters on board he mentioned it is impossible he could at the price he said have carried Goods in his Small Vessel to pay for them and it is but reasonable to suppose he must have paid much less as he was alone the whole winter on the Coast and that the Furs only rose in consequence of opposition in the trade. As a proof of my Supposition, at Nootka where Coasters are not in the habit of Stopping, the Natives only asked 5 Blankets $2\frac{1}{2}$ pts. for One Sea Otter. Captain Kelly has been five Years on the Coast and is now returning to Boston. I will now conclude my Remarks on the Coasting Trade by observing that in my Opinion it can be made a profitable Business and that we can Secure it to our Country provided we are favoured with the same advantages in turning our Furs to account as our Competitors. But to carry it on with all advantages possible I beg leave to Submit however judicious and comprehensive Instructions from England for the Guidance of the Master of the Vessel coming on this Station may be, I fear many circumstances may Occur which cannot be anticipated and consequently provided for, and in

¹ The Journal, B. 223/a/1, May 28-September 4, 1825, is very detailed. The report has not been traced.

venturing this opinion I believe it is only a confirmation of what we all wished to provide against here last Winter.

54. But to return to the Communication with the Interior. By the Documents we have here Stating more Inland Furs are traded at Nass than any other place on the coast—from Captains Kelly's saying he traded One thousand Beaver Skins there last Spring and from the Water being Muddy and fresh about that place I am certain there is some water communication with the Interior there and the only Anxiety on my mind is whether it is such a communication as will answer our purpose. The best way however of discovering a proper communication with the Interior is by our people descending the Rivers to the Ocean, and from the Information they might get from the Natives about the Establishments in New Caledonia they could easily judge (as there must be several) which would in all probability answer Best—and get the Indians to guide them down to Introduce them to Strangers and to protect them from insult from the Natives at the place they fell on the Coast. They would get its name and form an Idea (Even if they could not take an Observation) so as to be able to find out the place by Sea. Even allowing we were to discover a River with a Vessel we would still require to Examine the Navigation before we could take any measure of Importance regarding it. But I presume that this year Simpsons River has been examined and you will have Mr. Stuarts Report of Frazers River. Should both Rivers be reported as unfavourable I would advise Examining the tract Sir Alexr. McKenzie came down to the sea By, and See whether it is practicable with loaded Horses.

55. However as we are now Situated it is impossible to Select the most ELEGIBLE situation for a Depot even if we were well acquainted with the Country, as it will depend on whether we are to have a trade with the South Side of the Columbia, and if we are we must Study to facilitate this Object and which was taken into consideration in Recommending Frazers River as the main Depot. But if we are prevented having any trade with the South Side we in this case ought to Study to accomodate the Extension of trade towards New Caledonia and the Coast. But until these points are settled

and the communication with the Interior better known than at present it is to me, it is utterly out of any ones power to point out where the main Depot will be most conveniently Situated, and though I am aware you do not Expect any decision of the kind from me, Still I have taken the liberty to make these Observations and to State my opinion of the views that ought to guide us in making a Selection.

56. The Ship Carpenter whom you sent here insisted on going home and wrote me the note¹ which I now forward, and as we have not his Agreement and as you State in your Letter that Captain Hanwell might leave him I inferred perhaps Erroneously that he was not bound to remain and that it was only Optional with him, and I am certain by detaining him we will get no good from his Services and preferred to let him go than to run the risk of Exposing ourselves to disagreeable Prosecutions. It is necessary that the agreement with every person coming to the Country be sent with them and if possible no Mechanicks from London ought to be Sent as we have not the means of coming up to their Expectations in the way of provisions. In this Instance however I offered this man to fulfill any promise he might Say had been made to him by Mr. Smith or Mr. Gibb² with whom he said he agreed, and if not in his agreement or denied by those Gentlemen of course must pay for what he got—he replied it was true he expected to get the same provisions as on Board of Ship, but that he would not Remain. I Beg to Observe this man on Board of the Vessel objected to do Ships duty saying he was a Landsman and for which I refer you to Captain Hanwell; on shore he says he will not remain, had we his Engagement it would enable us to act more correctly to ourselves. I have desired the Captain not to Employ him on any duty if he can dispense with his Services. The Joiner we do not require and have not asked to Remain.

57. It would be very advisable, though the Vessel coming out had Salt on board if she should happen to touch at the

¹ This note has not been traced.

² Richard Gibbs, Ship Surveyor of High Street, Poplar, acted for the Company in many matters concerning the equipment and manning of ships.

Sandwich Islands that as much Salt was purchased at that place as she could carry, as the Salt made here will be more Expensive than to purchase it at the place I mention.

58. It has hitherto been the Custom in the Columbia to make a present to the Captain of the Vessel of a Sea Otter Skin and two Beaver Do. As the Captains who navigate to Hudsons Bay get nothing of the kind I did not give the usual presents to Captain Hanwell and take the liberty of referring it to your decision.

59. I forward you the account of the Supplies¹ we furnished the Vessel and to the Captain; we go by the prices of last years Outfit and put Seventy p. Cent Advance on what the Vessel got.² We told the Captain One hundred p. Cent would be charged. We put the latter advance to what Davison the Carpenter got. It would be advisable to Enable us to close our District Accounts that we knew what advance is to be charged the Captain and Crew for any Individual Supplies they may get from us in future.

60. I have taken the liberty of sending a few Curiosities collected in the *William and Anns* trip along the Coast. Among them you will find two Skins of what our people call the White Sheep of the Rocky Mountains, but it resembles more a Goat with Black Horns.

61. The *William and Ann* was detained here longer in receiving her Cargo than I expected. On Mr. McKenzies arrival finding the Captain had detained half the Owhyhees on board and that he did not Expect to come higher up the River than Fort George I wrote requesting him to come higher up or if he did not to send all our Owhyhees to the Fort. In answer by his note of the 9th September he wrote me he could not come without Orders. In my note in Reply I direct him to come &c. which he accordingly did; I send you the Correspondence³ I had with him. My Object in wishing him to come as high up the River as possible was to facilitate putting the Cargo on Board and to get all the Information we could regarding the Navigation of the River, and it was as well the

¹ This account has not been traced.

² Cf. p. 37 and *H.B.S.*, III, 321 and 367.

³ B. 223/b/1, fos. 29-30.

Vessel should be Employed in doing this as remaining below at Anchor.

62. If the Concern had a Vessel on the Coast would you approve visiting St. Francisco, Monterry &c. there are a good many Otters killed about those places.

63. I forward you the Copy of all the Letters I have written on the Companys affairs in this District.

64. In two days I intend to start with two men to go to Spokane and cause every assistance to be given to Mr. Ogden to enable him to join Mr. Finan McDonald. I will also have an opportunity of being better able to take the necessary Steps to carry any measure into Operation we may receive directions about from the Council at York.

I beg leave to say as an Apology for the tedious details with which I have detained you that as I know you are most Anxious to direct those measures to be pursued that promote the General Interest I consider I could not perform any duty more agreeable than to give you all the Information in my power relating to the Business.

I am

Your Honors

Most Obedient Servant

(Signed) JOHN McLoughlin

Fort Vancouver 7th Octr. 1825¹

To The Govr. Deputy Govr. & Committee
Honble. Hudsons Bay Company London.

HONORABLE SIRS

On the fifth Instant in the Evening I received a Note from Captain Hanwell informing me ten Beaver Skins had been taken out of the Cabin of the *William and Ann* and yesterday Evening our Interpreter gave me an Account of the particulars in the accompanying Letter.² It being out of my

¹ D. 4/6, fo. 57-57d.

² This letter has not been traced.

power to go to the Vessel (as I have no time to lose to go to the Interior) I sent Mr. Archibald McDonald to Examine into this affair and have taken the liberty of directing him to Report to your Honors all the Information he can collect relating to it.¹ The Seamen having traded Furs with the Natives is very injurious to us—they will give any price for Furs. It induces the Indians to suppose we deal unfairly with them and makes them discontent[ed] with us. The only way I think such Occurrences can be prevented recurring is by sending with the Captain coming here some of your old trusty Officers as Mates who look forward to promotion in the Service and consequently will be anxious to give every assistance to their Superiors that may be required, and I am of opinion if the Officers had as Zealously seconded Captain Hanwell as they ought nothing of what I at present complain of would have occurred. I beg leave to add that considerable deficiencies were found in the property put on board for the Coasting Trade.

As I was closing my Despatches of yesterday I received Letters from the Interior by which I am informed Mr. Ogden has received my Letter of the 10th August and that he is coming with twenty men to join Mr. McDonald and party and that unfortunately the people Mr. Ogden dispatched to Spokane were on their way back pillaged of all the property they were taking to him. Mr. Ogden complains very much of the conduct of some of his party and as he is to be at Walla Walla by the 20th of the present Month Your Honors will see the necessity of my not delaying my Intended trip to the Interior so as not to make Mr. Ogden lose time and to Examine

¹ D. 4/6, fo. 58, McDonald to William Smith, October 15, 1825, "Michel Laframboise the Interpreter, Instead of thirty left but twenty Skins on board the Brig as clearly ascertained from his own subsequent confession and the recollection of the Indian who delivered them to him and certainly the only palliative that can be offered for so glaring a mistake on the part of the Interpreter is the circumstance of his perceiving on returning to the Vessel that his Skins were handled during his absence and one actually exchanged." A search for the supposedly missing skins amongst the seamen's effects revealed furs which had been clandestinely traded from the Indians, but the sailors maintained that no formal notice of the prohibition of private trade (in accordance with the License of Exclusive Trade) had been given to them.

in person into the conduct of these men he complains of, and it is this that prevents my Enquiring in person into the Occurrences on board the *William and Ann*. Mr. Ogdens Letter is dated Forks of the Missisouris 10th September¹—he writes he has about 1500 Beaver collected since he wrote the Letter I forwarded you. These Furs were killed on the East side of the Mountains on the Head Waters of the Missisourie. Mr. Ogden writes he was obliged from the exhausted State of his horses to leave his Furs En Cache in a safe place with two men to bring them to the Flat Head Post when the Flat Heads whom they will accompany return to that place from hunting the Buffalo. On the whole if we get these Furs safe, in spite of all Mr. Ogdens losses he will have about the usual quantity of furs from this Expedition. I am sorry no Separate account has been kept of it to make you acquainted with its value, from the best Information I can collect it has yielded three thousand Pounds p. annum for the two prior years to this. I have sent a Barometer belonging to this place and two Thermometers sent out this year to be repaired. The Thermometers were deranged when taken out of the Box they came in. The Furs were repeatedly beaten this Summer and particularly so before Baling to put them on Board.

I have the Honor to be

Honble. Sirs

Your Most Obt. Humble Servt.

(Signed) JNO. McLoughlin

Fort Vancouver 1st Sept. 1826²

To The Governor Deputy Governor and Committee
Honble. Hudson Bay Company

HONBLE. SIRS

On the 1st June last I had the pleasure of Receiving a note from Captain Davison informing me of his arrival and on the Day following Received your Honors Despatches.

¹ This letter has not been traced.

² B. 223/b/2, fos. 20-28d.

2. Immediately on Receiving Intelligence of the Vessel¹ being arrived I sent all our Boats to unload the Cargo and by the 27th we had Every thing brought to this place.

3. I am sorry to have to Inform You the Indian corn is so much Injured by Insects that only its being Impossible to get other provisions can justify our giving it in its present state as food to our men. The Iron Especially that for Beaver traps say $\frac{3}{8}$ Square Scrap is of a Worse quality than any hitherto sent which causes a Great Loss as by the Breaking of traps the Hunters cannot make the Hunts they would. The powder is very coarse, we ought to get about five Barrels Annually of a finer Quality (say such as the late N.W. Co. used to have) as long as we have to Equip trappers. Some of the Dry Goods are much Injured. I send with this my Remarks² on the state of the cargo.

4. The late arrival of the vessel caused the Brigade to be detained longer at this place than suits the state of our Business in the Interior as we are obliged this year to send to trade Horses to Replace those lost last Winter in New Caledonia. This Detention in addition to his waiting here for his Outfit will prevent Mr. Connolly³ being able to Extend his trade as much as he Expected. But Horses are so absolutely Required and as we cannot send to trade them without sending a Strong party we were obliged to Detain the Brigade for that purpose.

5. On Receipt of your directions by the *William and Ann*⁴ I wrote to Mr. Dease to have Every thing Ready to Remove

¹ The brig *Dryad* of about 200 tons, built at Fishborn, Isle of Wight, in 1825, was chartered by the Company in the same year to carry the outfit to Fort Vancouver. On her return voyage in 1827 Captain James Davidson died at Valparaiso. In 1829 the Company purchased the *Dryad* from Messrs. Atfield & Shephard for service in the Columbia, and she remained there until 1835, when she left for London with the returns of trade. She was sold to Peter Ainsley for £1,450 in June, 1836, when she was described as "a handsome moulded vessel", with bust head, sham galleries and flush deck. She was wood sheathed over patent felt, and coppered. Her log for 1831 (C. 1/218) and those for 1832-36 (C. 1/281-2) are in the Company's archives.

² These remarks have not been traced.

³ William Connolly, in charge of the New Caledonia district, with headquarters at Fort St. James, on Stuart Lake. See *H.B.S.*, II, 209.

⁴ See Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 242.

the Establishment of Walla Walla this Summer to the North Banks of the Columbia and he informed me it could be done. When I was at Walla Walla last fall this subject at Mr. Deases Suggestion was mentioned to the chiefs as he considered it would be dangerous to move the Establishment without obtaining their Consent. When our Intention was announced they agreed to the Intended Removal but shortly after I left the place Mr. Black¹ Informed me some of the Leading Chiefs told him they would not consent to the Fort being Removed and in the Winter he Repeatedly wrote me that the party opposed to the Removal was daily Increasing, And in the Spring When Mr. Black touched on the subject their Answer was they had no objection to Remove the Fort Lower Down—But it must be on the south side. Mr. Black observed that he wished to Build on the north Bank—all the Chiefs Exclaimed against it and offered Horses and Beaver Skins to Induce him to Remain where he was or to Rebuild on the South side. He being aware if we Removed the Fort in Opposition to the Will of the Natives would Expose it to Great Danger and also the Communication Up and Down the River and Greatly Injure the Whole of the Columbia Trade of the Interior—told them he would not take their Horses or Beaver Skins and since he found they had such an Aversion to the Fort being Removed to the North Bank he would not Remove it for the present but wait for further Orders—and wrote me what I have now stated and at the same time informed me he was Ready to Remove the Fort If under these circumstances I still considered it advisable.

6. I wrote to Mr. Black in Reply that on account of the consequences stated in the foregoing paragraph we must not Remove and I did this with Less Reluctance as I am confident if we are prohibited sending to Indians on the South Side of the Columbia We can Establish no post on the north Bank that will pay the Expence of keeping Up When their is a post in Opposition to it on the South Side.

¹ Samuel Black. See H[udson's] B[ay Company] S[eries], Vol. I, E. E. Rich (ed.), *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report* (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1938, and London, The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1938), pp. 429-30.

7. As to the Indians objecting to the Removal after agreeing to allow it, No Reason is given by them But that its being on the North Bank would be Inconvenient to them and that they prefer to have it on the South side—I forward Mr. Blacks letters to me on the Subject.¹

8. The additional Shot and Tobacco you sent Enabled us to give all the Requisite Supplies to the Interior and the only Article we will be short is Tobacco. But it is so much in demand and these three years it has been so scarce that I preferred to give them What they Required and let this place trust for a Supply to the Vessel Expected with the additional Requisition for Outfit 1826² or from York Factory as I have sent an account of our Wants (five Rolls in addition to What we now have is all we Require for this place and the Snakes).

9. In my Letter p. the *William and Ann* I informed you of the Desertion of a Great part of Mr. Ogdens men³ and that I had wrote him if he found it necessary to come to Walla Walla. Which he did and after Equiping his men proceeded to find Mr. Finan McDonald and party I beg to Refer you to Mr. Ogdens Journal and Map of the Country he travelled through for the particulars of his proceedings and of the Occurrences he met with.⁴

10. The Hunt of the Whole party amounts to three thousand five hundred and seventy seven Beaver Skins of these the Servants attached to the party brought two thousand one hundred and Eighty Eight made Beaver⁵ in Beaver and seventy nine made Beaver in Otters. The Total cost of their Outfit—Wages, Gratuities, Reduction of Debt in consequence

¹ B. 223/b/2, fos. 3-4d., Black to McLoughlin, March 23, 1826, and *ibid.*, fos. 7-8d, same to same, April 22, 1826.

² See p. 42.

³ See pp. 8-9.

⁴ Ogden's Journal, December 20, 1824, to October 30, 1825, is B. 202/a/2. The map is presumably B. 202/a/3b, made by William Kittson to accompany his journal (B. 202/a/3a, December 20, 1824, to August 26, 1825. Kittson was a member of Ogden's party until July 16, 1825, when he began the "journey homewards with Joseph Pin and Joachim Hubert, having . . . the charge of 18 horses loaded with Furs". See *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXV, F. Merk, "Snake Country Expedition, 1824-25", pp. 93-122.

⁵ See *H.B.S.*, I, 311.

of their accepting European terms¹—amounts to fifteen hundred and thirteen pounds nine Shillings and five pence—being an Average cost of thirteen shillings and four pence Each made Beaver. You will please to observe had we not Employ'd these men in this way the Whole of the Snake Expedition would have been broken up, as after the Desertion of Mr. Ogdens men and the Saskatchewan Freemen abandoning the party the Remainder were too few to Venture to the Snake Country, and by Employing our Servants in this way we kept up the Snake party, Opened a direct and safe Road to the Snakes, and if furs should sell for the prices sent to us we have cleared on the Whole two thousand five hundred pounds. I forward you the Account Current² of the Hunt of the Servants attached to the Expedition and that of the Whole Expedition.

11. The Returns of Walla Walla have Increased two hundred and Eighty seven Beaver more than those of last year, Thompsons River are Eight hundred and Eighty six Beaver Skins (say nigh a third) less than those of the Year preceding. Between the Kootonais and Flat Heads their is an Increase of three hundred and Eighty Beaver. On the Post of Spokane House a falling off of about six hundred Beaver—the Returns of Fort Vancouver are seventeen hundred and ninety One Beaver Less than those of the year preceding. This arises from Various causes, 1st from the wars among the natives,³ 2nd By some of our freemen going with Mr. Ogden, 3rd Our not being so conveniently situated for the trade as at Fort

¹ After the coalition of 1821 a move was made by the Committee to abolish the North West Company's practice of issuing equipments and to fix a scale of wages in sterling for both European and Canadian servants. On condition he accepted the revised scale of wages a proportion of a Canadian's indebtedness was written off. Cf. *H.B.S.*, III, *passim*, on the subject of servants' wages and prices of goods. D. 4/93, Simpson's 1829 Report, fo. 50d., "The loss of Debts occasioned by the Desertions in the Snake Country is an other item of £600. The old North West Debts remitted, in order to bring the Servants to the reduced standard of Wages, (which may be considered almost a nominal loss to the Service generally as they only cost 2/- in the pound to the present concern altho' charged at their utmost value) forming an item against the Departmt. of £1200."

² This account has not been traced.

³ The war between Cassino and Concomely. See Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 253.

George, 4th The Furs traded by the *William and Ann* about Pugets Sound and Frasers River were on their way to this place.

12. Their is a decrease on the Returns of the Columbia for Outfit 1825 in comparing the same places with Outfit 1824 of two thousand four hundred Skins. But the Expedition we sent to trap makes our Returns for 1825 Exceed those of 1824 by One thousand three hundred Beaver Skins Exclusive of the Furs collected by the *William and Ann*, though as I already observed the Greater part were traded in the Limits of Fort Vancouver.

13. We have Built and Launched a Sloop of thirty Tons and named her the *Broughton*¹ in honor of Lieutt. Broughton who is the First European that ascended the Columbia as high up as this place, and the other vessel² of about seventy Tons Only wants to be decked and caulked to be Ready to Launch we have Masts and Spars prepared.

¹ B. 223/c/1, fo. 1, Æmilius Simpson to McLoughlin, March 20, 1827, "On arriving here [Fort Vancouver] on the 2nd November last, I found . . . The Vessel of 25 Tons . . . launched, and had with a temporary set of rigging & sails made trips down the River to assist loading the *Dryad*, her frame is oak but pine planked, and appears sufficiently strong for the purpose of making Trips along the coast during the Summer Months, but is at present in want of a thorough caulking before she can be used for any purpose."

² B. 223/c/1, fos. 1-1d., Æmilius Simpson to McLoughlin, March 20, 1827, "I found the vessel of 60 Tons register in a considerable state of forwardness, . . . being aware that the outfits ordered from England were intended for a Sloop . . . I deemed it necessary in this Stage of her progress to give Directions to convert her to a Sloop, by altering her hatches &c. &c. As the vessel was laid down for a Schooner I regret'd the necessity of altering her mode of rig. . . . The Material of which she is built is a very good quality of oak but I regret that circumstances could not admit of it's having been seasoned before being applied to the building of the vessel, as the consequence is that her planks are so open that it is likely to prove a serious defect. . . ." D. 4/93, Simpson's 1829 Report, fo. 61d., "The small Vessel, *Vancouver*, about 60 Tons burden, is the only attempt we have yet made at Ship building, and that was made under a combination of unfavorable circumstances; the want of Iron Works and of Iron of the proper sizes for the different works; the want of a Saw Mill, and the want of time to Season the Timber, . . . her plank and indeed the whole of her Timbers, became warped and contracted to such a degree, as to leave Seams so wide, that even with Sheathing it is doubtful they would hold the Oakum, if the Vessel was exposed to bad Weather; and this has been the cause, of our not fitting her out for Sea."

14. On the 10th May last Chief trader Alexander Roderic McLeod¹ started accompanied by four Whites—three Iroquois and Abenakis—three Owhyhees and three natives of this place, on a trapping Expedition along the coast South of the Columbia. On the 18th Ult. he Returned having collected Furs Only to the amount of three hundred and ninety five pounds One third of which he procured by trade. His Report is that the Country is destitute of Beaver—the natives are mild and that the Umqua from whence he Returned is not above One hundred and fifty miles South of Fort George—the Indians told him as they had previously informed us that their was a large River two days march South of the Umqua—which abounded in Beaver—But as Mr. McLeod had been detained so long in Examining the Country as he went and as he must be here by the 20th August—he had not time to go to that place—I forward Mr. McLeods Journal and Chart of the Country he travelled through.²

15. I have shipped the Furs of the Different Districts separate that you may see the Quality of the Furs procured in Each and send the Accounts Current³ to shew their Relative Value.

16. I have not been able to send the Flat Head and Spokane Furs separate (The Flat heads is an Outpost of Spokane). But by our Valuation the Returns from the Flat Heads Yielded a Profit of two thousand six hundred and fifty four pounds twelve shillings and seven pence. I forward the Balance Sheet.³

17. We have not been able to procure Deer Skins to wrap our furs and in consequence have put the Small Furs in Hogsheads and made up the Beaver and Otters into packs of 130 lb. and the Captain Allows us to make Up a large Apartment in the Vessels hold to Stow the Furs in: it is made with Dry well seasoned plank tongued and Groved and I hope they Will get home safe. It is only by stowing them in this way we can Expect to Keep them free of Insects if the Vessel takes a cargo of Hides, as I understand is Intended, at Rio.

¹ See *H.B.S.*, III, pp. 448-50.

² B. 223/a/2, McLeod's journal, May 5-August 17, 1826. The chart has not been traced.

³ These accounts have not been traced.

18. In case these precautions are not sufficient to preserve the Furs from Insects—I Intend next year to have them made into packages of the same Size as this Year—and to get Cases made of the proper dimensions to contain Each after being pressed and tied; men are now Employed in sawing Boards for this purpose And Nothing but Impossibility prevented my doing this Last Summer as it is necessary the Boards should be sawed a year before hand so as to dry and properly season.

19. I have communicated your directions to prevent the Tails of Otters being cut to the Gentlemen in charge of the Different Establishments—But it is a work of time to get Indians to adopt new modes. Many Indians Hunt furs (In the Interior) merely to please us and who would not hunt if we were too particular; the Furs procured at this place pass through so Many hands before they come to us that it is next to Impossible to get them dressed as we wish—I merely state this to shew how difficult it is to get them dressed as well as they ought though you may depend we will do our Utmost Endeavours to get them dressed as you direct.

20. Our farming goes on as well as we could Expect; the pease yielded a hundred and fourteen Bushels the produce of nine and a half; the Barley yielded twenty seven the produce of two—we Expect to have ten Bushels Wheat from two—and six of Oats from One Sown. This appears poor Returns But is owing to the seed being Greatly injured in coming here as the Wheat, Oats and Barley which Grew are the finest I ever saw in any Country. The Indian Corn seed sent us was Originally very poor and like the other seeds was much injured on the Route though I think it will thrive. Yet I am certain the Soil about this place is not so well adapted to it as for the other Kinds of Grain—On the Whole we Require no longer to Import Indian Corn as we can raise a sufficiency of pease to serve as a substitute for Indian Corn allowing the Latter did not succeed, and from the Wheat here we will be able to procure all the flour we may Require after September 1828—the cattle thrive very well, I cannot say so of the pigs, I am afraid we will scarce be able to have the Quantity of Pork we Expect for 1828.

21. In consequence of my being of Opinion as stated in my Letter of Last year¹ and in the sixth paragraph of this that if we are prevented going to Indians on the south side we can Establish no post on the north Banks that will pay the Expence of keeping it up—When there is a post in opposition on the South Banks, I Erected only such Buildings at this place as are Immediately Required and Exerted my Utmost to get our two small Vessels Built for this season in case the Goods came for the coasting trade so as to Enter on it at Once and to assist in Removing to Frasers River,² as I consider it would be necessary to Establish that place or Whatever place may be considered best adapted for a Depot before we have An Opposition alongside of us here, as our men have a great Dread of Frasers River and several have families—these two considerations would Induce them to Desert and make it more difficult to accomplish that object.

22. It is Impossible to say which is the Best situation for a Depot Untill we know the plans to be followed; the Navigation of Frasers River is Reported to be difficult and dangerous and Great part of it in the Summer Months to be Unnavigable—We know nothing of Simpsons River—Mr. Connolly last Winter went By Sir Alex. McKenzie's route from Alexandria to the Chin cothin country³ in six days, they informed him in

¹ See p. 12.

² Cf. Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 39 and 73-7. A. 6/21, fos. 75-75d., Governor and Committee to Simpson, February 23, 1826, "From the central situation of Frasers River we think it probable that it will be found to be the proper Place for the principal depot, but not until we have passed at least one Year there and acquired a knowledge of the character and disposition of the Natives and ascertained whether the navigation of the River is favorable to the Plan of making it the principal communication with the Interior."

³ D. 4/119, fos. 58-58d., Connolly to Simpson, April 30, 1826, "Being ready on the 8th December, the following morning accompanied by Mr. George McDougall and nine Men I set out [from Alexandria] upon the voyage. On the 14th we fell upon the Chilcotin River and in proceeding along its Banks the 16th fell in with two Camps of Indians . . . the following day we proceeded to the last camp along the River which we reached at night. . . . This Camp was situated nigh the head of the River which takes its rise in the Chilcotin Lake." The party started on their return on December 19 and arrived at Alexandria on the 23rd. A detailed account of the journey is in B. 188/a/5, Journal of Occurrences New Caledonia District 1825/26 by William Connolly.

two days from their Village he could Reach the Atnahs on Salmon River and Mr. Connolly says loaded Horses can travel what he saw of the Road. Sir Alexander Describes these Mountains as very high—but after seeing the Steeps which Loaded Horses climb in the Rocky Mountains—I think a Road can be found for them in the Chin cothin Mountains. The Shortest communication (If there is a Road for Loaded Horses) Between New Caledonia and the sea is By this Route.

23. We are at a Loss how to settle with our freemen and trappers so as to meet your views. Governor Simpson writes paragraph 19th of his Letter dated York Factory 11th July 1825 "But in the Event of my not appearing at Fort Vancouver by the 1st September it may be Inferred that their Honors have determined on not settling Frasers River for the present and in that case the different Expeditions should be fitted out a new and sent Back to their hunting Grounds. Chief trader Alex. Roderic McLeod Relieving Mr. Finan McDonald in charge of the Umqua Expedition under Similar Instructions to those of this spring." When Governor Simpson wrote he was not aware of the desertion of a Great part of Mr. Ogdens men and Expected to have a sufficient number to Establish Frasers River and keep up a Strong party in the Snakes. But this desertion of course (say thirty Eight men less than he supposed would be here last fall) will prevent our being able to carry his Intended plans into Execution. But as long before now he has been informed of this desertion and as he is aware of your directions to hunt the south side of the Columbia as much as possible I have no Doubt he will provide the number of men to carry these views (if adopted) into Execution. Mr. Ogden starts from this with one Clerk and thirty five men and proceeds direct to the River discovered by Silvaille¹ (supposed to be a Branch of the River said to Fall in the Ocean south of the Umqua) thence towards Lac Sale make a Circuit West and comes Out about the Clamet tribe, and will be Guided in his proceedings by the circumstances he finds himself placed in so as to avoid Losing a deal of valuable time as was

¹ Silvies River in the Malheur Lake region of Oregon. See Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 283.

unavoidably lost this summer by being obliged to be here by a fixed Date. Another point on which we are at a Loss is what price to give the freemen for their Furs. As it is certain if Americans fall in with our party Unless we give more for Beaver than we have hitherto our people will desert us. We therefore have agreed to give them 10/- for Every full Grown Beaver—half this amount for a cub and to allow them purchase personal necessities according to their abilities and means of from ten to fifteen pounds at European servants prices and hunting Implements at Inventory prices. Indeed I foresaw we would be obliged to do this Last Spring—But as a Copy of Mr. Ogdens letter which I transmitted to you was forwarded to York and as there was a probability the Governor would be here before this, and if he was not we could not Receive an answer in time (to detain the party till we Received an answer by the fall Express would prevent their making any hunt and Expose them to the certainty of Starving); for these various Reasons I was silent on this subject and as Indecision and Delay would alike Expose us to the certainty of a Loss I determined on acting according to circumstances and to trust that allowances would be made for the situation I am placed in. At the same time I am convinced the measure adopted will be beneficial to the Concern, as the High prices charged the Freemen and trappers for their supplies prevented our getting several Thousand Beaver Skins from the Snakes more than we have, drove our people to desert from us and to work for others whom they are now Guiding to Countries Rich in Beaver and in opposition to us.

25. I send you the Tariffe the Freemen hitherto paid for their Supplies and the price allowed them for their furs¹; several have Killed a hundred and fifty made Beaver and this was not sufficient to pay their Hunting supplies and their Losses in Horses and traps stolen by the Natives.

26. General Lashley² the American Trader agreed to

¹ This document has not been traced.

² William Henry Ashley. See H. M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1935), I, 246-9. D. 4/93, Simpson's 1829 Report, fo. 41, "Genl. (a Militia Genl.) Ashley of St. Louis (who notwithstanding his dignified title has had a number of ups and downs in life having been a Farmer, a Shopkeeper, a Miner and latterly an Indian Trader)."

pay Beaver on Bears River three Dollars p. lb. and to Give (at the same place) the Hunters their Supplies at the Rate of Six Dollars for a three point Blanket, four for a Beaver trap and Every thing Else in the same proportion. His Establishment is on the Big Horn River about Manuels Fort.¹

27. In compliance with Instructions Received from Governor Simpson² the *Dryade* has been detained. I made no Stipulations with Captain Davison as to What he was to be allowed but Referred him to your Honors and deferred Shipping the cargo to the last moment in case of counter orders—It leaves this to day to be put on Board.

28. I am Extremely sorry to say Captain Davison is as much addicted to Grog as he is Represented in the 71st Paragraph of Governor Simpson's Letter Dated 10th March 1825³ and while I consider myself Bound in Duty to state this, in Justice to Captain Davison I must acknowledge that I have found him most anxious to accomodate and assist; he Brought his vessel to Douglass's Reach which Greatly facilitated our bringing up the Cargo and Exposed it to less Risk, he Lent

¹ Manuel Lisa's fort was erected in 1807 at the mouth of the Bighorn River, Montana.

² D. 4/10, fo. 13, Simpson to McLoughlin, July 11, 1825, "The Honble. Committee do not say when the Ship of this season will sail but from a remark in one of Mr. Secy. Smiths Letters to the Agents in Canada respecting Indian Corn I infer she will start early in the summer and probably with the intention of making a Trading Voyage on the coast previous to her return, but whatever may be the nature of the Captns. instructions or Charter party I am anxious that she should be detained until you see or hear from me next season i.e. until the 1st Sept." D. 4/6, fos. 4-4d, same to same, July 10, 1826. "The great reductions that have taken place in our Establishment of people . . . and the limited Outfit of Goods by Captains Hanwell and Davidson all combined with other circumstances operating against the plan of establishing Frazer's River this season, lead us to suppose, that you would have seen the impracticability of carrying that measure into effect and accordingly made no attempt to detain the vessel from England until the 1st Septr. as recommended in the 18 paragraph of my Despatch of last year." D. 4/120, fo. 49d., McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1827, "I was well aware that it was impossible to establish Frasers River or enter on the Coasting trade without first receiving the Supplies from England, but as it might be decided to send the Furs to China I considered it more advisable to detain the *Dryade* . . . to the time you appointed."

³ D. 4/88, fo. 42. See Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 119.

us his carpenter for fifteen Days and sent his Boatswain to make the Sails of the *Broughton* and his 2nd mate to finish putting Up her Rigging, and he prevented any traffic being carried on with Indians by any of his people. Mr. Dun his mate from all I have seen or been able to Learn, is sober, carefull and attentive to his Duty.

29. Their Remains only for me to observe after What I have already said on the subject of the Columbia That it affords the Easiest communication to carry on the Fur Trade in the Countries on the Head Waters of the Missisouris, Rio del Norte and Bears River, and if the Americans Establish themselves here they will be able to compete with us for a Great part of the Saskatchewan trade.

30. We could yet Employ during three years a hundred more Trappers than we have, Say Eighty about Henrys Forks¹ and Trois Tettons²—and Twenty in that space of Country which Lies between Koo-to-nais Portage, Canoe River and Kootonais house³; the present party under Mr. Ogden would find Employment in that part of the Country which Lies between Mr. Ogden's Intended track of this year and the sea. At the End of that time we think the Country would be so Exhausted as no longer to afford Employment to such a number of men.

31. With What advantage we could Employ such a Body of men depends on Whether we are Opposed and the situation we are placed in comparison with our Opponents—But we Believe a hundred men Employed as we suggest would kill twelve thousand Beaver Annually at the Lowest calculation.

¹ Henry River, the northern branch of the Snake River, discovered by Andrew Henry of the Missouri Fur Company in 1810.

² Washington Irving, *Astoria* (London, 1836), II, 140, "These remarkable peaks are known to some travellers as the Tetons; as they had been guiding points for many days to Mr. Hunt, he gave them the name of the Pilot Knobs." Alexander Ross, *The Fur Hunters of the Far West* (London, 1855), I, 267, "They are now generally known as the Three Paps, or 'Tetons', and the source of the Great Snake River is in their neighbourhood."

³ For descriptions of this area see J. B. Tyrrell (ed.), *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America 1784-1812* (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1916), *passim*.

32. Mr. Douglass who came Out in the *William and Ann* Arrived four Days ago from the Interior and now Intends to pass some time in the Willamette; by him we Received accounts from Our friends and had the pleasure to Learn they were all well and had procured the number of Horses for New Caledonia and the Trapping Expedition.

33. We can purchase Salmon in the Columbia at an Average of $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5*d*. Each with the advance of 70 p. Cent, and thirty of these fill a Barrel and I am given to understand it would sell well in New California—If you sent us Eight or Ten Barrels Salt for the purpose we might Salt forty or fifty Barrels, send them to Monterray, Exchange them for all the Salt we want, sell the Remainder and see if any thing could be done in this way—the *Broughton* could go and come in Less than a month and the Experiment would not cost much. If the Business was well managed we might Salt a thousand Barrels p. Annum in the Columbia—I Understand Salmon is more abundant in Frasers River than here. It is certain if the Americans come they will attempt something in this way.

34. The Advance of seventy p. cent ¹ seems to me Greater than will be necessary in future to Cover the Expence of Bringing Goods to this place, it is attended with Loss of Interest and Loss on Sales to Servants—I Believe the Inventory of Spring 1826 or Spring 1827 If the Vessel does not

¹ See p. 21 and D. 4/93, Simpson's 1829 Report, fos. 65-6, "The importations are now becoming so heavy, upwards of £10,000 p. Annum, that 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ d p. Cent we think, will fully cover all charges, I therefore beg leave to recommend, that you authorise us, to reduce the advance accordingly, beginning with the Shipment of last year 1828. . . . I trust there will be no objections, to our putting the Importations to this Coast on the same footing in regard to the advance, as those to the Bay, as altho the Voyage is much longer, I think it will be found, that while our Indents amount to £10,000 and upwards, the Goods can be delivered here at about the same price as at York or Moose." Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 317, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, October 28, 1829, "We have duly considered Governor Simpsons remarks on the advance to be laid on the Columbia shipments and have determined to reduce the same to 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ p.c. on Invoice cost, by which means all goods exported from hence will be delivered at the three Depots of York, Moose, and Vancouver at the same cost, which will simplify the accounts, and do away with the nominal losses which arise on Sales."

arrive before the 15th March (If the plan is adopted to have a years stock on hand in advance) will be the Best Opportunity to Reduce the advance to what it Ought to be.

35. Mr. James Murray Yale¹ has sent a Bill in favour of Mr. John Clowes for Twenty pounds; this Gentleman was going about the Latter part of the Winter on Duty and not being in time to send his Bill to York in the Regular Routine Mr. Connolly brought it here and Requests me to Inform you of these particulars.

36. It is Impossible to have the New Caledonia accounts closed to go Out with the Express in the Spring, we will only be able to send them by the Vessel.

37. As Captain Davison was presented when here before with a Sea Otter and two Beaver Skins I considered it advisable to give him the same. I forward you the account of Supplies² he Received from us at the Rate of Advance he was charged when here Last. Referring you for further Information on the Business of this District to the Documents accompanying this

I have the Honor to be

Honorable Sirs

Your Obedient

humble Servant

JNO. McLoughlin

Fort Vancouver 7th Sept. 1826³

To The Governor Deputy Governor and Committee
Honble. Hudson Bay Company

HONBLE. SIRs

I have requested Captain Davison to forward from Rio (If he thinks when there it will Reach England before the

¹ See *H.B.S.*, I, 473-4.

² This account has not been traced.

³ B. 223/b/2, fo. 29.

JULY 6, 1827

39

15th March) this packet containing a copy of my Letter, Recapitulation of furs shipped p. the *Dryade* and chart of the country Mr. Ogden travelled through last Winter—the originals of these with the other Documents alluded to in my Letter of the 1st Instant will go per *Dryade*. I adopted this measure to give your Honors Intelligence of what we had done as soon as possible and in case it Reached London in time to afford your Honors An opportunity of Giveing such Directions as you may consider necessary.

I have the Honor to be

Honble. Sirs

Your Obedient Humble Servt.

JNO. McLoughlin

The Preceding Letter &c. was Inclosed in the following note to Captain Davison: Mr. McLoughlin's compliments to Captain Davison and Requests if when at Rio he Thinks the Inclosed can Reach England before 15th March—that he will have the Goodness to forward it.

Fort Vancouver 6th July 1827¹

To The Governor Deputy Governor and Committee
Honble. Hudson Bay Company

HONBLE. SIRs

I have the pleasure to Acknowledge the Receipt of your Dispatch of the 20th September with Invoice Bill Lading &c. &c. as per packet list p. *William and Ann* which Entered the Columbia on the 28th April and reached this place on the 10th May and I have the satisfaction to add delivered her cargo in Good Order.

2. All the information I had relative to the Desertion of Mr. Ogdens party in 1825 I have already communicated by

¹ B. 223/b/3, fos. 4d.-1od.

forwarding to you Mr. Ogdens Letter announcing to me this unfortunate circumstance and his journal sent by way of York.¹ Nor have I been able to collect any additional information Except that the men confirm the particulars as stated in Mr. Ogdens Letter and the Americans appear to me to have Given no assistance to our Deserters except countenancing and receiving them in their party. The number of our Deserters was sufficiently strong to protect themselves Especially in the Discontented state in which the whole party was, Including even those that remained, and it was only Mr. Ogdens prudent conduct Vigilance and personal influence that Enabled him to Detain these. This Discontent arose Entirely from the High price charged for the Supplies and by reference to Mr. Ross's Journal² (who preceded Mr. Ogden in charge of this party) which I sent you by way of York you will see the High price charged for the Supplies was the cause of all this Discontent and from all the information I have been able to collect it is Evident the High price charged for the Supplies has been the cause of the troubles that have attended the Snake Expedition since its first commencement—I sent you last year the freemens Tariff and stated that several had Killed a hundred and fifty made Beaver and this was not sufficient to cover their Expences—But it occurred to me since that I ought to have given you a proof of this—I now send Valle a freeman's account³—he is a Sample of the Rest and by it you will see I am correct in my assertion to charge such High prices was certainly most mistaken policy, as we had only a precarious tenure of the Country and we ought therefore to have allowed the trappers have their supplies at as low a price as possible so as to get while in our power all the furs we could out of it, and you see by the charts I already sent and the one⁴ I now send that the Desertion took place on the west side of the Rocky

¹ Ogden's Journal, December 20, 1824, to October 30, 1825, is B. 202/a/2. See p. 27.

² Alexander Ross's Journal, covering the period February 10 to November 24, 1824, is in B. 202/a/1. Extracts from the Journal have been published in *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XIV, 366-86. See Ross, *Fur Traders of the Far West*, II, 6-160.

³ This account has not been traced.

⁴ This chart has not been found.

Mountains, and while the Snake party was Equiped at the Flat Heads post the only route by which they could go to the Snake Country led them to the East side of the mountains, followed the skirts for some Distance South and then Re Crossed to the West side, and their is no Document here to shew that any Directions were given (nor were there any) to avoid going to the East side of the Mountains.

3. Spring 1826 Mr. Ogden saw most of these Deserters and on their hearing the terms our Servants had for their furs and the prices they paid for their supplies—they Expressed themselves as sorry (at least in conversation with our men) that they had left us and declared had they Anticipated any Reduction on the price of Goods they would have remained, and I am of Opinion it is the Dread many had that if they came here they would be taken from their families and sent out of the country prevented them from coming to this place with Mr. Ogden. They Requested supplies to be sent them at the Flat Heads and if Mr. Ogden could at the time have promised that their demands would be acceded to I am of opinion they would have come last fall to that place, as the Flat head Indians Report the Deserters were coming with them But that at last the Americans prevailed on them to turn Back.

4. The Brigade from the Interior arrived here on the 5th June and started to Return on the 14th of the same.

5. The Outfit received this year is sufficient for the Indian trade except in Indian capots for New Caledonia, nor have we wherewith to make any: the steel sent as Similar to pattern no. 5 is all Except three Bundles much larger as may be seen by comparing the Samples now sent of that we received this year with the pattern sent to England in 1825: the Aqua Marina Coliers do not suit the fancy of the natives, they complain of their being brittle, the Bead sent as Sample to England (and as a Substitute for which these Coliers have been sent) was imported from China and cost only twenty Eight Dollars p. picul.¹ What we mean by Matarials for Gun Locks is every thing appertaining to them Except the plate. The Brass

¹ Picul, pecul, a Chinese weight of $133\frac{1}{3}$ lbs.

mounted Guns ¹ have the calibre too large for any place hereabouts and I suspect much it was the size of the calibre that made the Nootka Indian so Ready to dispose of the Gun Captain Hanwell took home.

6. Of Several Articles for Sales to Servants we have this year not more than half the Quantity required in consequence of our not Receiving the additional requisition for Outfit 1826—which obliged us last year to apply several articles to the Indian trade that were Intended for Supplies to Servants.

7. On the 24th May the *Cadboro* ² Entered the River and on the 8th June anchored opposite this place and delivered her cargo in Good order and Lieutt. Simpson ³ Expressed himself well pleased with the state of her Rigging and stores.

8. As Mr. Simpson by the Instructions I Received from York was to have his choice of Mr. Sinclair ⁴ or the person you sent to act as mate on Board the *Cadboro* he took Mr. Sinclair. It was proposed to Mr. Duncan ⁵ to act as second mate: he declined the situation and wrote the accompanying letter ⁶ requesting to be allowed to go home, to which I agreed; but previous to doing this I proposed to him to Remain here on shore Untill we heard from York and if the *Vancouver* was sent to sea he would be Employed as Mate of her or of the *Cadboro* and if the *Vancouver* was not to be Employed he

¹ A. 6/21, fo. 91d., Governor and Committee to Simpson, June 2, 1826, "Capt. Davison has in his care a fowling piece traded by Capt. Hanwell from the Indians near Nootka which he brought home as a Sample of the Guns taken by the Americans to the N.W. Coast it is now sent for your inspection, and we desire that it may be returned to be deposited in the Pattern room. 25 Guns of this description will be sent out by the *William and Ann* in addition to the Indent, the cost of them will be 45/- each and information is requested as to the quantity it may be advisable to send in 1827."

² The schooner *Cadboro* of about 70 tons burden, built at Rye in 1826, was purchased in the same year for £800. Logs for the period 1826-50 are in C. 1/217-22. Cf. J. T. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names 1592-1906* (Ottawa, 1909), p. 76.

³ Lieut. Æmilius Simpson. See *H.B.S.*, III, 454-5.

⁴ Thomas Sinclair. See *H.B.S.* III, 456.

⁵ Alexander Duncan. See Appendix B, p. 343.

⁶ This letter has not been traced.

would if he chose be sent across the Continent next Spring to go home by way of York. But this he would not Agree to and persisted in his Request to be Allowed to go home. The Only Reason Mr. Simpson preferred Mr. Sinclair is that he has been some time in the Country and of course is better up to the Routine of the Business.

9. It is to be Regretted that the *Cadboro* did not bring a larger Stock of Salted provisions Especially as Captain Hanwell only brought us thirty Bushels Salt and Mr. Swan¹ brought nine. The latter told me he had no orders to trade any at the Sandwich Islands and if Captain Hanwell had not given us Eight Barrels Beef and Eight of Pork we would not have been able to provision the *Cadboro* to go on the coast without Killing some of our cattle and pigs, which were not in a state to be killed to Advantage, besides it would injure our means of Raising our future supplies. None of the cattle have been killed since I am here. The want of Salt will be severely felt at this place.

10. On the 24th June the *Cadboro* Sailed with an Addition to her crew of five half Breeds and Six Owhyhees; she has on board the Outfit for Fort Langley and the coasting trade.

11. Gov. Simpson in his Letter of Instructions² to me proposes that Either Messrs. McKay, Annance, Finan McDonald, Manson or McKenzie³ should be sent with Lieutt. Simpson. But as Chief trader Alex. Roderic McLeod is disposable he goes this trip to shew Lieut. Simpson the Manner of Dealing with Indians so as to Enable him in future to carry on the business with the assistance of his Officers; but should they hereafter not be found sufficient any of our Junior Clerks in the country might be sent to assist, as I consider it of the Utmost importance to the Success of the coasting trade that Lieut. Simpson should be able to direct how every circumstance connected with it ought to be done. I forward you a copy of my Instructions to Lieutt. Simpson.⁴

¹ See Appendix B, p. 356.

² D. 4/13, fo. 74, July 10, 1826.

³ Thomas McKay, François Noel Annance, Donald Manson, and Alexander McKenzie.

⁴ B. 223/b/3, fos. 3d.-4.

12. His starting so late and the length he will have to Remain at Frasers River will prevent his Exploring much of the coast this Season: it depends on the Instructions I Receive this fall how the *Cadboro* is disposed of in the Winter.

13. On the 27th June Mr. McMillan started and proceeded by the Cowlitz across Land to Pugets Sound and to meet the *Cadboro* at Point Orchard—he has an Establishment of three clerks and twenty one Men for Fort Langley.¹

14. I forward a Requisition² of some articles we will Require for Outfit 1829 in addition to the Requisition I sent this Spring by way of York—I have added Explanatory notes to shew what is only required if Outfit 1830 is here as it ought to be in 1829.

15. Our farming comes on well Except the Indian corn and the pigs, the Soil is rather poor for Indian Corn—But pease will serve as a substitute. Our Stock of pigs Increase Slowly, many are Poisoned by Eating a Root that Grows in these plains. Our pease Look very well, our Barley is very fine, and Our wheat I would say Looks uncommonly fine.

16. I send you the Returns of the different places seperate that you may form your opinion of the quality of their furs.

17. In the Shipment their is a Package no. 78 of Mr. Ogdens Returns. In my Letter this Spring to Gov. Simpson I propose to transfer Mr. Ogdens Outfit to the Debit of 1827 in order to close the concern of 1826, if this is approved Outfit 1827 ought to get these furs.

18. The men who brought these furs seperated from Mr. Ogden on the 20th March last on the Head waters of the Umqua (but did not know at the time it was it) were to hunt down this River and when it suited there purpose were to make their way to this place. After proceeding a few days they recognised where they were and came here. Mr. Ogden passed the Winter about the Clamet country, which is much

¹ Cf. *The British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, I, R. L. Reid, "Early Days at Old Fort Langley", pp. 71-85; *ibid.*, I, R. L. Reid (ed.), "Fort Langley Correspondence", pp. 188-94; and *ibid.*, IV, F. W. Howay, "The Discovery of the Fraser River: the Second Phase", pp. 245-51.

² This requisition has not been traced.

Intersected by Mountains and Lakes, several of the latter are Salt: previous to these men leaving Mr. Ogden he had divided his party—a half under Mr. McKay was hunting in ascending the River Too to nie¹ the Entrance of which has been visited last Winter by Mr. Alex. Roderic McLeod. Mr. Ogden had when these men left him fifteen hundred Beaver including what Mr. McKays party had when they seperated, which is much more than ever the Snake party had at that season, and when these men left him he was to cross over to the River Mr. McKay was hunting on to join the latter Gentleman and be Guided in his future proceedings by the circumstances he found himself placed in. The men report that Mr. Ogden said if he found a country abounding in Beaver and that he considered it safe he or Mr. McKay would accompany a part of the men to this place with their Returns—and for their supplies—the Remainder of his party he was to leave to hunt, and I have the pleasure to inform you that his two men wounded by Indians last fall are perfectly Recovered.

19. The American Brig *Owhyhee* Captain Dominie² Entered the Columbia River about the 12th Ult. and Remained a few Days in Bakers Bay. Mr. McMillan was on board of her, saw the mate, the captain was on shore with the Greater part of the crew getting wood which the Mate informed Mr. McMillan was their object in Entering the Columbia and also told him the Vessel had been the whole winter on the coast—on which there were six Vessels besides. The *Owhyhee* was last from New Dungeness in the Straights of De Fuca. Captain Dominie gives twice as much for furs as

¹ The Tu-tut-ne tribe inhabit the Rogue River region. The uncertainty then existing with regard to this part of Oregon is evident from B. 223/e/1, Mc Loughlin's 1826-27 report, fo. 1, "The Too to-nez or McLeods River discovered last year by Mr. Alexr. Roderic McLeod rises in the Clamet Lake and falls in the Ocean at Cape Orford", and from the map of U.S. Territory of Oregon, compiled under the direction of Wash. Hood, 1838, on which Rogue River is named "Rouge, Clamet or Tut-to-nez or McLeod's River". Cf. *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XLI, Alice B. Maloney, "Camp Sites of Jedediah Smith on the Oregon Coast", p. 310.

² Captain John Dominis in the employ of Josiah Marshall, the Boston merchant.

we do, this of course Excited a great sensation amongst the natives but fortunately he did not remain Long.

20. If the Outfit for 1829 does not arrive here in 1828 it ought to be here Early in 1829 so as to have the means of Despatching the vessel Early on the coasting trade, say in April. In the Catalogue of fur sales there is no mention of the Sea Otters; it would be necessary we Knew what they Sold for to Guide us in trading them.

21. Mr. Swan made some disbursements to the crew of the *Cadboro* on their way out and though I know you have directed that all orders for money must pass through Gov. Simpson Hands at York still as the present case is peculiar I have taken the liberty to give him an order for the amount annexed to a Statement of the Advances to the different Individuals.

22. When Mr. Duncan applied to be allowed to go home I requested Captain Hanwell to Allow one of his Sailors to Remain (there were two as I afterwards understood who wished very much to Remain) and I would give him an order to Employ Mr. Duncan on Board the *William and Ann*. My object was to retain as many Seamen as I could, as in a country where they are so liable to Disease as this it is well to have some to Spare (last Winter at one time every fifth man about the place was in Hospital—and one of the *Cadboro* crew left this Diseased). Captain Hanwell after considering my Request told me he could not agree to it. I merely state this as it is Equally necessary you should know what has been attempted to be done as what has been Effected.

23. I beg to observe in regard to the Crew of the *Cadboro* that their time will be out in 1829; they are only obliged to give us warning in 1828, which if they do it will then be too late to replace them from England and will place us in a very awkward situation. But this could be avoided by Engaging five or Six of the crew of the vessel to be here in 1829 conditionally to Remain in the country if Required—if they remain, those of the *Cadboro* who wish to go home will replace them. In this way the crew of the coasting vessel can be kept up without any additional Expence—I forward Lieut.

Simpsons Letter ¹ on this subject and Requisition ² for Outfit 1829.

24. It is necessary your Honors prohibit the masters of vessels coming here and their crews having any traffic or Dealings with the natives—not even to allow any going on board the vessel Except such of the very principal and best chiefs pointed out to them. As a proof the necessity of this last measure an Indian went on Board the *William and Ann* and after going away about a mile from the vessel dropped down Dead—his friends, on his being missing, searched all over but could not find him and were Informed by Indians of his being seen last on board the vessel—they then went on Board the Vessel in Expectation of hearing or seeing some traces of him; of course they neither saw or heard any thing. Two Indians then went to ask to search the vessel. The people on board, not understanding their Intent or object, would not grant their Request. Immediately it was given out that he was a prisoner on Board: we at the Fort were Ignorant of what was going on. And on the Indians coming on Shore after being refused leave to search they vowed vengeance on any of us for the supposed imprisonment or Murder of their Relative—a friendly Indian informed us of this and told us at the time “be on your Guard the Relatives think you have killed or keep the Indian Missing imprisoned on Board the Vessel, you may Depend they will Revenge it.” He had scarce communicated this when one of our men while working about two hundred yards from the Fort was Shot at: the Ball went through his Hat. In consequence of this I was obliged to put a Stop to the Sale of Ammunition, which Injured our trade a Good Deal. Had our man been killed or Even wounded we must have taken more Important measures for our own personal Security. People who are not acquainted with Indians are apt to Spoil them by allowing them too much Indulgence or to take liberties that offend—and from my own knowledge of Indian character I am certain that the Great number of Whites who lost their lives on this coast is Entirely owing to the too Great

¹ B. 223/b/3, fos. 11-12.

² This requisition has not been traced.

communication the crews of the Vessels have with the natives. Their are no people who prove the correctness of the common saying "that familiarity begets contempt" more than Indians—in our Intercourse we must treat them with apparent openness and confidence though we must still be constantly on our Guard, and this is a line of conduct that no people are less apt to conform to than Sailors. Captain Hanwell at my suggestion it is true at once prevented any Indians coming on board, but others may not be so compliant and it is too Import[ant] to us both in a moral and commercial point of view to be on Good terms with the natives not to adopt every precaution to secure it, and if the Chinook Indians are so much addicted to Liquor it is owing to the facility with which they have hitherto found means of getting it from the Vessels, and you may depend that unless all traffic between the vessel and Indians is put a Stop to—the trade will greatly suffer and ultimately it will cause Blood to be Shed.

25. I forward you a copy of Mr. Ogdens Journal from the 24th to 29th May¹ (in case Any accident should have hap-pened on the way to the Journal I already sent) giving a Detail of what Occurred when his men left him and an Extract from Mr. Ross's Journal² of the year preceding by which you will see that the High price charged for the Supplies was the cause of the difficulties (I already sent you his journal) he had with these men; and though we heard that they were complaining, still we never had information before us to Enable us to Judge of the Costs of the Snake furs till I made out the Accounts I sent you and by all the Information I can collect I am certain the cheapest furs the trade collected in 1822, 1823 and 1824 are the Snake Returns and though the Snake Expedition has been on foot since 1816 the only Journals of its transactions that we have here are that of 1822/3 Mr. Finan McDonalds,³ 1823/4 Mr. Ross's⁴ and 1824/5 Mr. Ogden⁵ and these journals only came here Summer and fall 1825.

¹ B. 202/a/2, fos. 24d.-26d.

² Cf. p. 40, n. 2.

³ B. 208/a/1, kept by Finan McDonald from April 15-July 22, 1822, and by James Birnie from July 23, 1822-April 20, 1823.

⁴ See p. 40, n. 2.

⁵ See p. 40, n. 1.

26. I have so amply Detailed to you my opinion on the trade of this side of the mountains in my preceding Despatches and in my Report to the Gov. and Council at York¹ that my saying any thing more on the subject as nothing has Occurred to Alter my opinion would only be Repetition.

I am

Honble. Sirs

Your Obt. Humble Servt.

J. McL.

Fort Vancouver 11th Augst. 1827²

To the Governor Depty. Govr. & Committee
Honble. Hudson Bay Company

HONBLE. SIRS

On the fifth Instant Mr. Ogden arrived with his party and I was much surprised to hear on the Evening of the 6th that the *William and Ann* was yet at point Ellice. Immediately I wrote a note to Captain Hanwell to Request he would wait untill I shipped these furs. What can have detained Captain Hanwell so long is to me unaccountable as the water was so high when he left this—that at the latest in Eight Days I conceive he ought to have been out of the River. I forward you Lieutt. Simpsons chart of the Columbia River from Cape Disappointment to this place.³

2. As our Boats cannot stow Bales I have got the furs made into Packs of 80 lb.

3. Mr. Ogden Hunted last winter in that Space of country Bounded on the north by the Head waters of the River of the Columbia falls,⁴ on the west by the Umqua, from thence East to the River Malheur in the Snake Country.

¹ D. 4/120, fos. 49-58d.

² B. 223/b/3, fos. 13-14d.

³ This chart has not been found.

⁴ Deschutes River.

4. Mr. Ogden says the natives (as is always the case when Indians see whites for the first time) were not troublesome. But the country is very and in consequence of the natives hunting the Beaver for food it is much scarcer than in any place he saw in his former Expeditions.

5. I send you the Account Current ¹ of this Expedition and I beg to observe that I suggested in my Letter to the Governor and Council at York to transfer Mr. Ogdens Outfit to 1827 so as at once to close Outfit 1826—if this plan is approved the whole of the Snake Returns now sent ought to go to the credit of 1827.

6. Mr. Ogdens party is Ready Equiped to Start and is to proceed up the main Snake River to Hunt where Mr. Ross was in 1824. If he meets Mr. McGillivray ² he is to act according to the circumstances he finds himself placed in and I wish him and his party less misery and hardships than they suffered last Winter—Want of time to copy his Journal prevents my sending it—Often did the trappers propose to Return Back and had it not been for his influence and Exertions the Expedition would have failed: freemen in the plains with their families starving about them are not Easily led and I have no hesitation in saying that to Conduct a trapping party is the most difficult, harrassing and dangerous charge in the whole Business.

7. On the 15th Ult. I found out that Mr. McKenzie had made a Mistake in drawing out the Bill of Lading signed by Captain Hanwell on the 5th Ult. and as I then supposed the *William and Ann* was at sea took no steps to correct these Errors, and as I cannot go down to open the Packet I must allow the Incorrect copy to proceed and forward a correct Bill Lading under a seperate Cover.

8. Our crops are all cut but not thrashed, I cannot therefore state Exactly what we have got; the Grain has not filled so well as some that I have seen owing to the Excessive Drought and heat. During last month the Thermometer has been as high as 105 and in General 92 at 2 P.M. in the shade. I

¹ This account has not been traced.

² Chief Trader Simon McGillivray. See p. 56, n. 1.

suppose we will have a hundred and fifty Bushels wheat—five or six hundred of pease—three hundred of Barley and fifty of Oats.

9. From the want of Salted provisions I am at a Loss to decide how we will Employ the *Cadboro* during the Winter, allowing we succeed in making a sufficient quantity of Salt (for which purpose I intend to send a party to set about making it Immediately and which I could not do before) to cure a sufficient Stock of provisions, still to kill our cattle this year will prevent our having the means of Raising a sufficient supply for our future wants and as hereafter (if we Begin to kill our cattle now) we must send somewhere for a Supply of provisions it would be preferable to send the *Cadboro* this fall to Monterrey to see if we could get provisions for a Debt of three thousand seven hundred and fifty Dollars due by Don Jose Maria Estudilla to the late N.W. Co.¹ or to send her to the Sandwich Islands to purchase our wants there. As it is important you should be aware of Every thing Intended to be done I think it probable the *Cadboro* will proceed to Monterrey and whether she gets our wants there or not she will proceed to the Sandwich Islands in order to obtain all the information we can relative to the coasting trade, as all the coasters resort there and several reside on the Islands.

I am

Your Honors

Most Obt.

Humble Servt.

J^{NO}. McL.

N.B.—I send you Samples of the Wheat, Oats, Pease and Barley of our crop of this year; the Red Wheat and Oats Received this year by the *William and Ann* did not vegetate, the White Wheat and Barley came out of the Ground but they were sown too late for this place. I send you a shell which Mr. Ogden procured from the Indians last winter (he saw several amongst them) they say they get these shells from the but whereabouts Mr. Ogden could not learn.

¹ See p. 54.

AUGUST 12, 1827

Fort Vancouver 12th Augst. 1827¹

To William Smith Esqr.
Secretary to the Honble. Hudson Bay Company

DEAR SIR

I Request you will please to state to the Honble. Committee that we would require the following Articles in addition to our Requisition for Outfit 1829

12 Doz. Whip saw files	5/1	P. Doz.	£3.	1
8 „ Rat tail „	4/3	„	1.	14
12 Ps. Long Red Baize	} 155/6		93.	8
104 Yds. P. Piece				
			<u>£98.</u>	<u>3</u>

Fort Vancouver 12th Augst. 1827²

To The Governor Depty. Govr. and Committee
Honble. Hudson Bay Company

HONBLE. SIRS

Inclosed with this is a survey of this Establishment and farm³ and the only apology I have for sending it in this state is that I had not time to get a clean copy taken.

I am

Your Honors

most Obt. humble Servant

J. McL.

¹ B. 223/b/3, fo. 15.² *Ibid.*³ This survey has not been traced.

Fort Vancouver 14th Novr. 1827¹

To The Governor Deputy Govr. and Committee
Honble. Hudson Bay Company

HONBLE. SIRS

By my letter of the 6th July p. the *William and Ann* I informed your Honors of the Sailing of the *Cadboro* on the 24th June with the Outfit for Frasers River and from thence to proceed on the coasting trade: she Reached Frasers River on the 31st July and as previously understood remained untill the Stockades of Fort Langley were Erected and two Bastions and a store Built. The natives seemed well pleased at having a trading Establishment on their Lands. But they are so savage treacherous and numerous—(it is supposed their are two thousand Indians about the place) that it is owing to the presence of the *Cadboro* and Strict watch Kept by all hands that our people were able to get through their Business without Molestation.

On the 13th Sepr. the *Cadboro* sailed from Fort Langley and proceeded up the Gulf of Georgia to Port Neville, saw few furs with the natives and for which they asked a very high price, and traded only two Sea Otters at the rate of six Blankets 2½ pts. and a Calico Shirt for Each, and twenty Eight Beaver and Land Otters at a calico shirt Each, from thence returned to this place and Entered the Columbia on the 28th ult. and I am sorry to inform you that on their way Back one of the Sailors (Driver) was murdered and a Boy (Peter Calder) wounded by the Indians on the East Shore of Vancouvers Island opposite Point Marshall. It was calm, the vessel laying about a Mile from a small creek, a Boat and five Sailors were sent to it for Water, on their reaching the place Six or Seven Indians came out of the woods and joined our people who imprudently allowed the Indians to come among them and were so little on their Guard that an Indian came behind Driver and Snatched his Gun from him—In all their Intercourse with the natives our people treated them [with] kindness, no Quarrel or

¹ B. 223/b/3, fos. 21-22.

even difference had arisen and we can only attribute their acting in this Atrocious manner to their Barbarous disposition and desire to possess themselves of our peoples arms and clothing.

The *Cadboro* proceeds from this to Monterrey and the Sandwich Islands but if the winds are unfavourable she will only proceed to one place, purchase about three hundred Bushels salt, three Hundred Bushels Indian Corn, about thirty Barrels salted provisions, twenty Barrels flour and twenty firkins Butter, Sail to Fort Langley and Return to this place. The vessel will then be despatched with a sufficient Outfit for the Summer trade of Fort Langley (we have not the means of sending the complete Outfit for the year) and proceed from thence Direct on the Coasting trade, on which she will be Employed during the whole Summer and Return here only in the fall.

Our crops have yielded as well as we could Expect and with what provisions we Indented from England we would have a sufficiency for all our Demands. But provisions are so important, situated as we are, I considered it most advisable to Employ the vessel in this way to see if any Business can be done at the places she visits and to lay in a small stock in case of the failure of our crops, and Especially as we cannot receive the Salt Expected by the Vessel to be here in 1828 in time to ship it to Frasers River—without Delaying the *Cadboro* too late for her future operations.

There is a Debt due the late N.W. Company since 1816 by the then Governor of Monterrey, Don Pablo Vincente De Sola, of Eight hundred and fifty Dollars which was to be paid in provisions, and Sundries were left for Sale in charge of Don Jose Maria Estudello to the Amount of three thousand seven hundred and fifty six Dollars; out of these Sums—if Lieutt. Simpson Recovers them—he will pay the provisions he may purchase at Monterrey. But as these Debts are of so old a Date, such changes have taken place in that country he may perhaps be unable to Recover them¹—he will in this

¹ D. 4/92, Simpson's 1828 Report, fo. 37, "... instead of receiving payment of those debts a claim was set up for a debt said to be owing at Monterrey by Mr. McDougall then of the North West service, and from the threats that were held out Lieut. Simpson found it necessary to meet their demands."

JULY 10, 1828

55

case have to Draw on your Honors for the Amount of his purchase.

The Express from York Factory reached this on the 28th Ult. and by it I Received Letters from the Gentlemen in charge of the Establishments in the Interior which inform me that Every thing is going on in the usual way.

I am &c.

J. McL.

Fort Vancouver 10th July 1828¹

To The Governor, Deputy Governor & Committee
Honble. Hudsons Bay Compy.

HONBLE. SIRs,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the Receipt of your Dispatch of the 12th Sept. & 3rd October by the *Eagle*² Capt. Graves,³ which entered the Columbia on the 20th May & reached this place on the 28th of the same & delivered her Cargo in excellent condition. Enclosed are my remarks⁴ on the quality, &c. &c.

2. I regret to say although we have recd. the Complete Requisition I made for Outfit 1828 still as we did not receive

¹ B. 223/b/4, fos. 8d.-13.

² The brig *Eagle*, built at Lynn, Norfolk, in 1824, was purchased for the Columbia trade in 1827. Until 1835 she carried the outfits from London and brought back the returns of trade. In June, 1836, she sailed for York Factory under command of Charles Humphreys, and on July 27-28 stranded on the rocks off Button Islands, near the entrance to Hudson Strait. Owing to ice conditions she was so late reaching York Factory that she was obliged to winter in Hayes River and return to London in 1837. As she was not worth the expense of a thorough repair she was sold to Messrs. G. & H. A. Castle for £1,140 in December, 1837. At the time of the sale she was described as being of "193 Tons per Register (O.M.), . . . has flush Deck and Figurehead . . . a strong burthensome Vessel, shifts without Ballast". Her logs for 1827-29 (C. 1/283), 1833-35 (C. 1/284) and 1836-37 (C. 1/285-8) are in the Company's archives.

³ See Appendix B, pp. 344-5.

⁴ These remarks have not been traced.

the additional Requisition for Outfit 1826 which I calculated on when I made the Requisition for the Shipment received this year our Inventories of this Spring are so much less than anticipated that we are deficient in many articles for supplies to Servants & the Indian Trade, however as I have sent a list of the most Indispensible articles (particularly Tobacco) to York Factory I hope it will be found practicable to assist us.

3. If the Outfit for 1830 is not here in 1829 it will be impossible for us to meet the demand, as it is probable we will have to supply a party of Hunters from the East side of the Mountains under the charge of Mr. Grant¹ & a part of Mr. Ogdens deserters are come back & I expect most of the Hunters, both Canadians & Americans, in the Snake Country will come here. Indeed I expected they would do so when I altered the Tariff for Freeman & Trappers. I calculated at the same time we would always have a years stock in advance which would enable us to meet all contingencies & I am of opinion we ought always to have a years stock in advance for, exclusive as your Honors observe of the extra expence incurred by the Vessel being obliged to remain here till all the Trapping Parties return from their Hunting Grounds, it ought also to be taken into consideration that the loss of Interest by having the outfit here one year in advance can bear no comparison to the injury the Trade would suffer if by accident to the annual Vessel we were deprived of supplies for a year.

4. On the 7th June Mr. C. F. Connolly arrived here with the Brigade, & I am sorry to inform you that three men were drowned by the breaking of a Boat in coming down the River.

¹ D. 4/6, fos. 10-10d., Simpson to McLoughlin, July 10, 1826, "We have it in contemplation to Outfit a party of about 30 to 35 half breeds from Red River next autumn under the charge of Mr. Cuthbert Grant for the purpose of Trapping in the country to the southward of the Columbia; to . . . pass the whole of the following summer and winter in scouring the Snake Country, as far to the Southward and westward as possible, and find their way down to Fort Vancouver by the Willamette about the month of April 1829, where they would deliver their hunts and be Outfitted anew. This party to be nominally under the charge of Mr. Grant, but virtually under that of Chief Trader Simon McGillivray, who will have the principal direction of the Expedition."

This accident occurred in the Priests Rapid,¹ a place always run by the Boats & considered safe.

5. I presume long before your Honors receive this you have been informed of the murder of Mr. Alexr. McKenzie & four of the Companys Engages by the Natives of Hoods Canal²; from every information I have been able to collect, they committed this crime without having had the least difference with our people & murdered them merely for the sake of their apparel & Arms & the murderers had Dances among themselves to celebrate the deed, & sent us word to come & revenge it, that they were ready. To pass over such an outrage would lower us in the opinion of the Indians, induce them to act in the same way, and when an opportunity offered kill any of our people, & when it is considered the Natives are at least an hundred Men to one of us it will be conceived how absolutely necessary it is for our personal security that we should be respected by them, & nothing could make us more contemptible in their eyes than allowing such a cold blooded assassination of our People to pass unpunished, & every one acquainted with the character of the Indians of the North West Coast will allow they can only be restrained from Committing acts of atrocity & violence by the dread of retaliation.

6. To punish those Murderers two mode could be adopted, either to employ Indians or act ourselves.

7. All the Indian Tribes on the Columbia from the Dalls to the Sea, offered us their Services, but accepting their offer would be kindling war among them, cause a great deal of innocent Blood to be shed, give them a claim on us & lower us in their opinion, as they would consider by our employing them that we were unable without their assistance to protect ourselves, for these reasons we declined accepting their offer.

¹ Three miles below the northern boundary of Yakima county, Washington. The rapid is ten miles long and descends seventy feet. G. Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America* (New York, 1854), pp. 276-7, "Priest's Rapid, so named by Mr. Stuart and his people, who saw at this spot, in 1811, as they were ascending the [Columbia] river, a number of savages, one of whom was performing on the rest certain aspersions and other ceremonies, which had the air of being coarse imitations of the Catholic worship".

² See p. 63, and *H.B.S.*, III, 447 and 448-9.

8. In acting by ourselves, the best plan we could follow would have been to embark our people on Board the *Eagle* (the *Cadboro'* is too small for such a purpose) and go in her to the Village of the Murderers. A Vessel of the size of the *Eagle* would have a very imposing appearance in the eyes of the Natives, & add much in their estimation to our respectability & prevent Indians from accompanying us.

9. For these reasons I proposed to Capt. Graves to embark our people on board the *Eagle* & take them to Hoods Canal, at the same time observed I did not wish him to assume more responsibility than his instructions warranted. He answered he could not of himself agree to my proposal as his Instructions were only to come to the Columbia & added if I would take the responsibility he was willing to go,—but as his Instructions are to come to the Columbia & Return direct to England—going to Hoods Canal would be such a deviation as I was afraid would vitiate the Insurance—I could not therefore assume so great a responsibility.

10. It only remained for us to send the party by land and let the *Cadboro'* wait them in Admiralty Inlet.

11. On the 17th June Mr. Chief Trader Alexr. Rodk. McLeod accompanied by Messrs. Ermatinger¹ Dears² & Yale & fifty nine labourers started; it is supposed they will be twenty or twenty five days, & in the meantime this will afford us an opportunity to divide our Outfit to the best advantage, which as it is deficient in many articles required more management in the distribution, & for these reasons Mr. C. Factor Connolly in charge of New Caledonia, & Mr. Work in charge of Spokane remained at this place.

12. If Mr. McLeod has time he will pay a visit to Fort Langley merely on account of the impression such a party of our people will make on the minds of the Natives, as it is certain they had planned last Spring to surprise Fort Langley & were only deterred from making the attempt by seeing our people constantly on their Guard.

¹ Francis Ermatinger. See *H.B.S.*, II, 212-3.

² Thomas Dears. See *H.B.S.*, I, 436.

13. In case of our being at any future time in the same disagreeable situation we are this year, it would be of advantage to us to be at liberty to employ the Vessel coming here in visiting such places on the Coast as may have committed or attempted violence on our people—It is not that the Vessel (or even a land party) can do them any personal injury if they choose to run, but even making them run would have a good effect, as it would inspire a dread of doing us an injury—I am certain a Vessel of the size of the *Eagle* or *William & Anne* merely paying a Visit to Fort Langley would tend very much to the security of that place. If ever it is molested by the Natives, it will be by those of the Gulf of Georgia, Vancouvers Island or Pugets Sound, & as they reside in Villages on the Shores of the Ocean the dread of the Vessel paying them a hostile visit & destroying their habitations would make them more peaceable in their conduct.

14. If such a plan was adopted the Vessel might either Ship the Furs after landing her Cargo, proceed to the place she was to visit, & thence direct to England, or leave the Furs here & return from whence she went to visit & ship them.

15. My reasons for suggesting that the Vessel took the Furs with her is that by the time she returned the water might be too low to bring her up to this place, & to take the Furs down to opposite Fort George with the few men we would have at that season at this Establishment would detain her a good deal of time. However I think she might all times come to within a few miles of this place.

16. It is out of my power from the want of Pack Cords to do myself the pleasure to make up the Furs in the manner you direct.¹ I had written to Mr. Dears last winter (as the Post of the Flat Heads is the only place on this side of the Mountain

¹ A. 6/21, fo. 140, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, September 12, 1827, "the Furs [by the *Dryad*] were in excellent condition, with the exception of some of the outer edges of the bales of Beaver which were a little damaged by the worm, but owing to the closeness with which the bales were press packed, the worm were unable to penetrate far into the skins, it may therefore be as well in future to let the cords, or whatever may be used to tie up the bales be several times fastened round them, which will considerably press in the edges of the Skins".

where he can get Pack Cords) for the quantity we want for the different Expeditions, but in consequence of the scarcity of animals (Buffalo is the only Animal on this side of the Mountains from whose hide we can make any) he was unable to procure the quantity required & we are obliged to send back to the Interior some of those that came down with the Packs—it is to be hoped that next year, he will be better supplied, if not he will (as we now have a Small Saw Mill a going) be able to pack the Furs up in cases.

17. It would be gratifying to us to have the Brokers remarks on the Furs of the different Districts stating the number of Prime & Damaged & staged from each, I am induced to make this request in consequence of the large proportion of damaged & staged as pr. priced Catalogue in the Shipment pr. the *Dryade*.

18. Your Honors may depend every exertion will be made on our part to get the skins as clean as possible, but I beg to observe that as the Beaver along the Coast in consequence of the Heavy rains in Winter can only be hunted in Summer,¹ it is impossible to clean the Skin as it must injure to scrape it.

19. The Returns of 1827 now shipped exceed those of 1826 exclusive of what may be added to the first by Mr. Ogdens Trapping Party, who in his Letter to me of last March writes he has two thousand Beaver Skins, that some of his Deserters had joined him, & that he expects to be here in the first week in August.

20. I am afraid your Honors will be disappointed at the *Eagle* not being filled up with Staves, last Fall finding our Provisions rather low I only kept such men at this place as

¹ D. 4/119, fo. 43, McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1826, "The Interpreter says he saw several Beaver lodges in the Na-ta licht and Inchase Rivers, but was unable to set his traps by the sudden rise and fall in the Water, which he has known to rise in Rivers seven feet in one night, in this excursion he did not catch one Beaver tho' he had Six traps. . . . It may be said how does it happen the Freeman make a Winter hunt in the Willamette—the fact is if you divide the Hunt of a Freeman between him and his followers and they all set traps you will find they do not average 10 Skins each in their Winter hunts." In the region under discussion the annual rainfall is as much as one hundred inches. There is abundant rain in the summer as well as in the winter.

were necessary to carry on the indispensable work. The rest I sent to hunt.

21. We put in the ground this Spring seventy Six Bushels Wheat, Eighteen do. Grey Pease, Seven do. Early Pease, Thirty Bushels Barley twenty two of Oats & three of Indian Corn, & I have the pleasure to inform you that our Crop looks as promising as we could expect, except the white Pease & the[y] look much better than last year & if our Crops answer to their appearance we will have Flour & Grain for a Years Stock & will afford us Provisions for a year in advance, an object I have been most anxious to accomplish.

22. Mr. McKenzie¹ who came out Mate of the *Cadboro'* applied to be allowed to exchange with a Man from the *Eagle* which was granted. I cannot send you his A/c Balanced as in consequence of not understanding clearly how it was to be settled, I refered it to York, but I enclose you an account of the advances² he got here since forwarding his account, & by putting this to his Debit & crediting him with his Wages up to the 10th June last his account will be correct.

23. When the Express left this I did not know that Mr. Ogdens Deserters had returned (Mr. Dease saw fourteen of them last Winter at the Flat Head Post & some of them are coming with Mr. Ogden) consequently I made no provision for them in the Requisition then forwarded. I now forward one² for them to be added to the Shipment to be here in 1830. It is greater than the present number would require, but as I have reason to expect they will be followed by all the rest and perhaps by most if not all the freemen trappers in the Snake Country, and as they are people who lay great stress on getting whatever they may require, it is better to have a little surplus than to be short, & if we find next March that it will not be required the Requisition for Outfit 1832 can be made proportionately less.

24. I am sorry I cannot give your Honors any additional information relative to the Coasting Trade. Indeed we can

¹ Another Alexander McKenzie. Not to be confused with the clerk of the same name who was murdered by the Indians of Hood Canal.

² These documents have not been traced.

never do any thing in that branch of the business till we have the Outfit a year in advance so as to be able to dispatch the Vessel on it in March, & another disadvantage under which we labour is the Vessel being too small. A Vessel of the size of the *Eagle* or *William & Anne* would have answered much better as, being so much larger, she would have a more imposing appearance in the Eyes of the Natives & being so much higher out of the water would not run such danger of being Boarded as the *Cadboro'* & would allow a freer intercourse with the Natives—Without which trade cannot be carried on. But whether it would be more advantageous to employ the *Vancouver* whose wide seams have been filled up by removing the plank & putting dry seasoned in its place (& is as strong as any Vessel should be) conjointly with the *Cadboro'* or not is what I cannot yet say, as it is yet impossible to foresee what should be done—only perhaps that in the event of a larger Vessel being required for the Coast, the Vessel coming from England might remain here and the *Cadboro'* or *Vancouver* take home the returns, which I take the liberty of mentioning for your Honors consideration as from the distance between us unless precautions are taken before hand, a great deal of time may be lost before measures can be carried into effect.

25. Capt. Grave got a few plank to build up a partition in the Vessel. Would it be worth while to fill up the Vessel with deals of this kind? We can procure them with little additional labour & they may be got when from the want of hands we will not be able to get Oak Staves.

I am

Honble. Sirs

Your Obt. Humble Sert.

JOHN McLOUGHLIN

[Undated]¹

To the Govr. Deputy Govr. & Committee
Honble. Hudsons Bay Coy.

HONBLE. SIRs

In my Letter of the 10th June² I informed your Honors of the departure of Mr. Chief Trader Alexr. Rodk. McLeod accompanied by four Clerks & fifty nine Servants & Freemen on an Expedition to punish the murderers of the late Mr. McKenzie & Party & I have now the pleasure of informing you that on the 15th Ult. he returned after having accomplished the object of his voyage & recov[er]ed the woman who was with our people when they were murdered (whom the murderers detained in slavery) & without one of our party receiving the least wound or injury. The Murderers hearing our people were on their way expected they would come by Hood's Canal & collected their forces at their village at Port Townsend, but our people went round by Pugets Sound as pre-determined to join the *Cadboro'* at the entrance of Admiralty Inlet & on their route fell in with a Party of the tribe of the murderers of whom they killed eight: the account of this reaching the main body & the *Cadboro'* appearing at the same time made them retreat to another village of their countrymen at New Dungeness & putting themselves in as strong a position as they could waited to give our people battle, but our people afraid the woman the murderers detained as a Slave might be killed refrained attacking them & entered into a Parley to recover her, to which they agreed & promised she would be brought on the morrow. The morrow came but the woman was not brought & kept putting off our people during five days & during this time pressed Mr.

¹ August 7, 1828. B. 223/b/4, fos. 19d.-22d. The letter can be dated from the acknowledgment by the Governor and Committee in A. 6/22, fo. 45, "We acknowledge receipt of your letters of the 10th July and 7th 8th and 11th August 1828."

² The previous letter is dated July 10, 1828. See p. 55.

McLeod to allow our Linguist & the Indians he had with him as Interpreters (none of our people speak the language of the murderers) to go on shore to hold a Council with them, of course none of our people could be trusted among such a band of murderers. On the fifth day a Chief of a neighbouring tribe paid our people a Visit & Mr. McLeod explained to him the line of conduct we intended to adopt towards the tribe of the murderers, that we did not wish to injure the innocent, but only to punish the murderers of our people, which if they would give up we would refrain doing any injury to the rest & that they must also give up the Woman. Well says the Chief I will go & tell them what you say & let you know their answer. During the absence of this Chief the messengers from the Murderers again paid a visit to our people urging that our Linguist & the ten Indians went on shore with them to hold a Council & then that the woman would be given up, but Mr. McLeod told them to wait for an answer till the Chief he had sent to their relations was returned: to this they reluctantly agreed & when they saw the Chief return they leaped in their Canoes & paddled off. Our people suspecting they had been guilty of some act of treachery towards us called on them to stop or else they would fire, on hearing this the[y] stopt for a few seconds & then in spite of the calls of our people to stop, paddled off as fast as they could; being aware their flight must proceed from some designed treachery which they knew would now be discovered & seeing they could not come up [with] them our people fired, killed one & wounded the other.

On our Messenger coming on board he informed Mr. McLeod that these two Men had come to him with a view of inducing him to send some of our people to hold a Council with them in which they were to have been murdered. Mr. McLeod finding no good to result from forbearance requested Lieut. Simpson to fire a few Cannon Shot on the Village & Mr. McLeod & Party landed under cover of the Cannon, burnt the Village with all their property & forty six Canoes, the third day after this the Natives gave up the Woman & we gave up the wounded Indian.

Having already exceeded the time allotted & further delay being extremely injurious to our business on this side of the Mountains, our people gave over the pursuit of the murderers & on their return burnt the Village at Port Townsend, this Village was two hundred paces in length, the Houses as on the Coast made of boards & built contiguous to each other.

Mr. McLeod informs me he received the most zealous & effectual assistance from Lieut. Simpson & the Gentlemen & men of his Party and in my opinion the whole Expedition was most judiciously conducted, the woman was recovered, the murderers were punished & not a man of ours received the least injury, & though the loss the murderers have suffered may appear great & ought to deter them & their countrymen from committing any acts of violence towards us, still I doubt if it is sufficient for that object, as though the report that twenty one of their people were killed by us, & two of the murderers by the relations of those killed, yet they are so devoid of feeling that this does not effect them so much as the burning of their Village & property & destruction of their Canoes.

I have been particular in giving your Honors the detail of our proceedings in this unfortunate affair as it is a subject on which perhaps there may be a diversity of opinions. It is certainly most unfortunate to be obliged to have recourse to hostile measures against our fellow beings but it is a duty we owed our murdered Countrymen & I may say we were forced by necessity, as had we passed over the atrocious conduct of their Murderers, others by seeing them unpunished would have imitated their example & whenever an opportunity offered have murdered any of us that fell in their way, & I beg to assure your Honors that before I decided on this measure I gave it every consideration its importance deserved but the more I reflected the more I was convinced of the necessity of our acting with energy, & nothing but the urgency of the case obliged me to act at once & prevented my waiting for instructions on the subject.

Mr. Ogden arrived on the 31st Ult. with Eighteen of his

men, Mr. McKay went with the remainder for Six hundred made Beaver, the hunt of six of the Trappers whom a Party of the Blackfeet Tribe of Indians had attacked, killed one Woman & stole Twenty six Horses (all they had) which obliged them to hide their Furs & it is extremely fortunate the Trappers were in the Camp when it was attacked otherwise all their families would have been killed & their property pillaged. Mr. McKay & party arrived on the 5th Inst. with the Furs he went in search of. I am sorry to have to inform you that two of Mr. Ogdens Trappers were killed in course of the Season by the Blackfeet Tribe.

Mr. Ogdens returns are better than last year¹ & among them are some Skins traded from American Trappers with their own mark on them, accompanying this is the A/t² of the Expedition & when it is considered Mr. Ogden was in a part of the Country over run by American Trappers, his returns are a proof of his exertions & those of his Party with whose conduct he is highly pleased.

As soon as the people return from putting the Furs on board the Vessel (which I detained a few days for them) he will start on his return to his hunting grounds.

When the Men gone up to assist the Brigade as far as Okanagon come back (whom I expect in a few days) Mr. A. McLeod will start with the Willamette Freeman, on a Trapping Expedition South of the Willamette, he & Mr. Ogden are to return next year when it suits their convenience.

Our Barley, Pease & about one third of our Wheat are cut, the Pease are better than last Year, the Barley is not so good, the Wheat is as fine as any I ever saw, our Indian Corn is

¹ B. 223/d/18, "Snake Returns Outfit 1827 shipped 1828

2182 Beaver	large	ea. 30/6	3327 11
911	Small	13/6	614 18 6
19	Coating	lb. 12/3	11 12 9
59 Otters Land	ea. 16/4		48 3 8

£4002 5 11 "

² This account has not been traced.

AUGUST 8, 1828

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finer looking than last year, I expect we will have about

500 Bushels Barley	200 Bushels Indn. Corn
400 „ Pease	1000 „ of Wheat
200 Bushels Oats	

and unless an accident should happen us, there is not the least doubt we will have a sufficiency of grain & flour to answer all our wants, Indeed with the Flour we now have & our Wheat I think we will have a years stock of this article in advance.

Mr. Ogden in course of last winter saw three American Trapping Parties & four of his Deserters; two of the last are gone to St. Louis & two are come with him as also two of the American Freeman.

I remain

Your Obt. Humble Sert.

JNO. McLoughlin

Fort Vancouver 8th Augt. 1828¹

W. Smith Esqr.

Secretary Honble. Hudsons Bay Coy.

DEAR SIR,

It has occurred to me that perhaps Mr. Alexr. McKenzie, Mate of the *Cadboro'*, account may be left as it was settled here. I therefore inclose a Copy of it, as transmitted to York Factory this Spring.

I am, Dear Sir

Your Obt. Hble. Sert.

JNO. McLoughlin

B. 223/b/4, fo. 22d.

Fort Vancouver 10th August 1828¹

To The Governor Deputy Govr. & Committee
Honble. Hudsons Bay Coy.

HONBLE. SIRs,

On the 8th Inst. at 10 P.M. an American of the name of Black² reached this place, in his opinion at the time, the only survivor of a Party of Nineteen (19) Americans, the remainder having been massacred by the Natives of the Umpqua River. Black says that he and seventeen others were engaged to Mr. Smith³ (this is the same that came to the Flat Heads 1824/5 and also whom Capt. Simpson saw last Jany. at St. Francisco) & they left St. Francisco January last with about three hundred Horses bound for their Depot at Salt Lake.

Leaving St. Francisco they ascended the North Branch of Bonaventura trapping Beaver as they went along till the 14th May, when finding it impossible to cross the Mountains with their Horses in an Eastern direction they turned West & fell on a River which took them to the Coast, & proceeded along it to the Umpqua where they were defeated. At the moment of attack Mr. Smith was off with two men in a Canoe to ascend & examine Bridge River, a stream that flows into the Umpqua, to see if he could find a road to take his Horses—a short time after Mr. Smiths departure, their being about a hundred Indians in the Camp & the Americans busy arranging their arms which got wet the day previous, the Indians suddenly rushed on them, two got hold of his (Blacks) Gun to take it from him, in contending with them he was wounded on the hands by their Knives & another came with an axe to strike him on the head, which he avoided by Springing on one side & received the blow on the back. He then let go his Gun & rushed to the woods, as he was coming away he saw two

¹ B. 223/b/4, fos. 23-24d.

² Arthur Black.

³ Jedediah Smith. See H. C. Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific*, 1822-1829 (Glendale, Calif., 1941), and M. Sullivan, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith* (Santa Ana, Calif., 1934).

Indians on one Virgil,¹ another, Davis was in the water & Indians were pursuing him in a Canoe, a third was on the ground & a band of Indians were butchering him with axes—after wandering in the woods during four days he fell on the Ocean about (by his description of the place) two miles North of the Umpqua & knowing this Establishment to be here followed the Coast to the Killemau Village; the first Indian he saw wanted to pillage him of his knife but this he resisted. A little after he fell in with seven who stripped him of all his cloathing except his Trousers, another party joined these & a quarrel took place between the two Parties as he thinks about himself: during the fray he found an opportunity of reaching the Woods & saw no Indians till he got to the Killimau Village, here he got some to take him across Land to the Willamette to one of our Freemen who forwarded him to this place—on the 10 Inst.² (yesterday) at mid-day Mr. Smith arrived with the two men who were with him in the Canoe, he was as I already stated gone with them to examine the Banks of the River; after proceeding a few miles he returned & when within sight of his Camp seeing none of his people at the place, it struck him with surprise & while looking about to see where his people could be, an Indian from the shore spoke to an Indian with him, the latter immediately turned round, seized Mr. Smiths Rifle & dived in the River, & at the same time natives that were hid in the Bushes fired on Mr. Smith & his two men, who escaped by paddling to the opposite bank; he ascended a Hill from whence he saw his Camp distinctly, but seeing none of his people & from none of them coming forward when he was fired on though within reach, he naturally concluded they were all cutt off, shaped his course for the ocean & fell on it at Alique River³ & followed the Coast to the Killamau Village where got Indians to take him to the Williemette & accompany him to this place. When he was

¹ Thomas Virgin, whose name was given to Virgin River, a tributary of the Colorado River.

² This letter was probably written in two or more instalments, of which the first was written on the 10th.

³ Mr. Lewis A. McArthur, President of the Oregon Historical Society, thinks it probable that Alique River can be identified as Alsea River.

attacked he had two hundred & twenty eight Horses & Mules, about Seven hundred & eighty Beaver, fifty or Sixty large Otters & two or three Sea do. two hundred wt. of Beads & one hundred wt. of Goods & Tobacco, the Indians who brought Mr. Smith say their were fifteen killed, which with four that got here accounts for the whole party. Immediately on hearing this melancholy intelligence Indian Messingers were dispatched towards the Umqua with directions to the Natives if they found any of the survivors to shew them every kindness & to convey them to this place & that we would reward them handsomely for their trouble. On hearing Blacks narrative I enquired of him if they had any quarrel with the Natives, he says the only difference they had was about an Axe which the Natives stole ten days before they attacked the Party, to recover which Mr. Smith secured an Indian & tied him, but on the latter promising to bring it back he was liberated & he brought it back & that previous to reaching the Umpqua, they had two skirmishes with the natives in which they killed two of them. Mr. Smith gives the same account. The Indians who accompanied Mr. Smith to this place also report that the quarrel originated about an axe & the Natives conceiving them to be a different people from us had acted in this treacherous manner towards them; this unfortunate affair is extremely injurious to us as the success & facility with which the Natives have accomplished their object lowers Europeans in their estimation & consequently very much diminishes our security. As for us every means in our power will be exerted to assist Mr. Smith in recovering his property.

I am

Honble. Sirs

Your Obt. Humble Sert.

JNO. McLoughlin

Inclosed is a Sketch of Mr. Smiths Track from St. Francisco to Fort Vancouver.¹

¹ This sketch has not been traced, but see Dale, *Ashley-Smith Explorations* and Oregon Hist. Quar., XLI, Maloney, "Camp Sites of Jedediah Smith", pp. 305-23

Fort Vancouver Augt. 1829¹

To The Govr. deputy Govr. and Committee
Honorable Hudsons Bay Company

HONBLE. SIRs

I suppose about this time your honors will be informed of the Wreck of the *William and Ann* and the Melancholy loss of all the crew. We were told when Govr. Simpson was here,¹ that Capt. Swan and part of the crew (if not the whole) landed at Clatsop point and were murdered by the Natives, which from their well known Savage disposition we were inclined to beleive, at the same time our informant not being clear in his statement, caused us to apprehend his object (for though we had this Report from several, still we could trace it to the same person) was to endeavour to induce us to make war on the Clatsops with whom he was at variance; for these reasons we could not rely on his report, and deffered taking such measures as so atrocious a deed deserved till we had more authentic information of its being perpetrated, with the determination of being guided in our proceedings by the information we might obtain, and though we used every exertion in our power consistant with the caution necessary to be observed to guard against our being duped by Indians and made Instruments of their vengeance, still it was only on the 21st of June when the only Indian Chief here whom we have found correct in the intelligence he has hitherto brought us, informed us that the day previous he had seen the Chief of the Clatsop Village, who told him he and his people had picked up from the wreck

¹ August 5, 1829. B. 223/b/5, fos. 8-13. The exact date is taken from the acknowledgment in A. 6/22, fo. 78.

² Simpson arrived at Fort Vancouver on October 25, 1828, and remained there until March 25, 1829.

twenty-one Bales of Goods but that all the crew had been drowned. We determined on demanding restitution of this property and Mr. Connolly immediately started in a light Boat to overtake Capt. Simpson and detain him with the *Cadboro* to assist in carrying our Plans into Execution. On the Morrow Messrs. Black, Harriott,¹ Work, Ermatinger and Laframboise the Interpreter started in four Boats manned by forty four men and accompanied by Mr. Hall the first mate of the *Ganymede*,² who volunteered his services with two sailors to manage the *Vancouver* if Capt. Simpson had sailed for Fort Langley, but this precaution we found unnecessary as Mr. Connolly overtook Capt. Simpson. On being joined by the rest of the party Mr. Connolly sent a message to the Clatsops demanding restitution of the property, to which they replied they would restore all they yet had and pay by giving us Slaves for what they had appropriated to themselves and requested us not to land, but it coming on to blow the Boats getting damaged alongside of the Vessel and the people being crowded on board, Mr. Connolly sent the Clatsops word he must land with his people but that since they promised to give up the property they need be under no apprehension from us; his messenger returned with an old Brush and a Scoop and said the Clatsops told him "take this and tell your Chief this is all he will get of his property" and on our people getting into their Boats to land the Indians fired at the Vessels, some Balls went through the Bull works. The Vessels returned their fire but still the Indians continued theirs till our people were near

¹ John Edward Harriott. See *H.B.S.*, II, 216-7.

² The chartered barque *Ganymede*, of about 213 tons, was built at Chepstow in 1827 and sailed from Plymouth for the Columbia on September 16, 1828. The vessel was purchased from Richard Drew in 1830 for £2,700 and sent to the Columbia. Another voyage to and from the Columbia lasted from 1832-34, and in consequence of the detention of the ships in Hudson Bay in the winter of 1833-34 the *Ganymede* was consigned to Moose Factory and Ungava Bay in the summer of 1834. In the following December, after being repaired, she again sailed for Fort Vancouver. She returned to London in March, 1837, and in the following June was sold for £1,700. Her logs covering the years 1832-37 are in C. 1/333-38.

the Shore when one of the Indns. being killed by a Shot from us they all fled and took to the Woods. Our people burnt their Village and all their property, in ransacking the Village they found Rum in Canoes and some in two Punchons which the natives had burried in their lodges. The 24th June the Vessel returned to Chinook point and as our people were preparing to embark in their Boats they discovered two Indians skulking in the woods and approaching our Camp, they were immediately pursued and though they both fired at our people none was hurt, but one of our men overtook them, shot one and killed the other with his Knife. Mr. Connolly remained their that night and on the 25th Started for this place which he reached on the 28th after an absence of only seven days and a half. Since then we have not been able to Collect any further information or ascertain if any of the crew had been murdered, five of the bodies have been found, two at Clatsop point by the natives who informed our people, and the latter when they went to bury them found that one of the bodies had lost the Head and the legs were broke, another by the natives at Cape lookout, two at Cape disappointment. One of the latter found on the 8th May at high water mark buried in the sand except the face, but as it had been eat up by the Birds though the remainder of the body was in perfect preservation I could not ascertain exactly if it was Capt. Swan; though it seems to me it was, others to whom he was equally well known think not, his Jacket and Trowsers were of Second blue Cloth, there was no mark of Violence on the body and two Watches were found on him, which with his Neckhandkerchief are forwarded.

It remains for me to observe in regard to this melancholy event that I am of opinion the Crew were not murdered.

The *Ganymede* entered the River on the 8th of May and narrowly escaped the same fate as the *William and Ann* as Capt. Hayne mistook Chinook bay for the Columbia, and after crossing the Bar the Indians wished to induce him to go up the Bay where he would have been wrecked or more in their power. The late arrival of the *Ganymede* has been greatly detrimental to us and her Cargo is much injured by Salt being

placed over Bale Goods. I forward your honors a statement of the Condition we received it. I am sorry to learn that so heavy a loss was sustained by damage on the Returns of 1826,¹ Shipped per *William & Ann* in 1827. The Returns of Walla Walla then Shipped when Received here by me were full of moths especially the Rats and though I got them repeatedly beat still in case any might remain to prevent their getting to other furs, I put the Rats (as they had the most moths) in the only Rum punchons we had and the Beaver in cases of country well seasoned wood, but the Cases 66 to 69 inclusive and 75 in which the Martens were packed are English Hat cases and well glued in the chinks to render them air tight. When your honors state "The cases appear to have been made of Green unseasoned wood" you must have been misinformed, to Pack Furs in Wood of that Kind would have been most unpardonable in me after a residence of twenty six years in the Indian Country, and if the Martens were not in the Rum Punchons it arose from the cause I already mentioned.

4. The Brigade from the Interior arrived the 5th June and started on the 11th July, and I am sorry to learn on their way up one of the Boats filled in the Dalles and lost seventeen pieces.

5. Mr. Ogden with part of his people arrived on the 24th ulto. and the Remainder of his party on the 1st Inst. His

¹ A. 6/21, fo. 158, Governor and Committee to Simpson, February 27, 1828, "... the *William and Ann* arrived on the 8th Instt. and ... delivered her Cargoe in good order, but on opening the cases No. 66 @ 69 inclusive the contents were found to be damaged to the extent of one half the value, and the case No. 75 to the extent of two thirds of the value, being very much injured by the moth worm. The cases appear to have been made of green unseasoned wood, and the Furs not packed close enough in them. Those in old Rum puncheons and pressed bales are in very good condition. In future therefore no cases of Country wood ought to be used, but the Furs ought to be packed close in old spirit casks or in pressed bales. The loss on the contents of the 4 cases has been estimated by Mr. Hagel at £429.
and on No. 75 473. 19.

making in all £903. 19."

The error in addition occurs in the original.

Returns are better than last year and amount including with what his people traded here and in the Interior to four thousand Beaver, and in my opinion remarkably well dressed and in the highest state of preservation, which, when it is considered some of these Furs have been Carried on Horses backs through the Country since last fall Winter & Summer, certainly does him great credit.

6. Mr. Ogden last year hunted in a new Country South of that space of the South branch of the Snake River that lies between Owhyhee River and Riviere au Malheur on a River which he discovered¹ and on which he traded fresh Salmon on the 29th May and in winter explored part of the north side of Great Salt Lake. Mr. Ogden reports the natives to be very numerous and though he has had several narrow escapes in different Expeditions yet he never ran greater Risks of being cut off with his whole party than this year, when his camp in which there were only twelve men armed (the Tumblers of the Guns of the others being broke) was surrounded by about two hundred Indians; fortunately for Mr. Ogden one of his Trappers had started ahead when he discovered the natives part on foot and part on horseback in a direction to surround the camp, he immediately started to return to warn the Camp when the Horsemen attempted to take him at the same time some shot arrows at him. Seeing one of the Horsemen coming up he turned round and Shot him and reached the camp in time to put it in a state of defence, and the Indians seeing our people prepared gave up their design.

7. I forward your honors the account Current of Mr. Ogdens Expedition,² and though we were not bound to allow them more than ten shillings per Made Beaver still we have deemed it adviseable to avail ourselves of the great care they have taken of their furs to allow them one Shilling more on each made Beaver.

8. Your honors are aware when Govr. Simpson left this we

¹ Ogden's or Mary's River, renamed Humboldt River, after the great scientist, by J. C. Frémont in 1845.

² This account has not been traced.

had an opposition ¹ which has continued to this date and give out they intend to continue in the River till further orders from their employers, they have began no Establishment but have reduced the price of Guns from eighteen Beaver to three, of Blankets from five to one Beaver, and every other article in the same proportion. Guns were kept by us at a high price from policy to prevent the numerous population getting armed and as they are not animal hunters Guns are of little or no use to them in procuring food, & as Guns and Blankets are the principal articles in demand I am afraid we will run short before the Vessel from England arrives here in 1830. It is unnecessary to state to your honors the effect opposition has on the Indian Trade, and how we are situated who have to pay at this place five times as much for Furs as we had Calculated, however it is useless to dwell on the Subject, every thing was done to provide for such an occurrence. But the loss of the *William & Ann* has destroyed all our measures of precaution, still of course you may depend our best endeavours will be exerted to compete with our opponents in trade as much as our means will allow.

9. Mr. Charlton the British Consul at Wahoo having informed Lieut. Simpson that 200,000 feet of Deals might be

¹ D. 4/93, Simpson's 1829 Report, fo. 68-68d., "On the 5th [March, 1829] the *Owyhee* Captn. Dominis of Boston came into the River and anchored off the old Fort; immediately on recd. of this information, Chief Factor McLoughlin went down to make enquiries respecting the object of her visit and learnt that the *Owyhee* and *Convoy* of Boston belonging to Marshall & Wiles left that Port in August last for the purpose of Trading on this coast, that the *Owyhee* came on direct without touching any where and that the *Convoy* had instructions to call at the Friendly or Society Islands for Islanders to make up numbers as they are less expensive than American Seamen. That it was intended that one of them should remain in the River during the Summer for the purposes of Fishing Salmon and Trading Furs. Capt. Dominis commenced Trade immediately on arrival at a much lower Tariff than ours say Guns for 6 Skins & 2½ point Blankets for 2 Skins with other articles in proportion, whereas, our Tariff was 18 Skins for a Gun & 5 for a Blanket: we however reduced our prices forthwith sending parties in all directions to intercept distant Indians and placing Mr. Manson Clerk and a few men along side of him which has had the desired effect as the Opposition have not as yet got a couple of Hundred Skins and I am in hopes they will find the visit so unprofitable as not to repeat it."

disposed of at that place at one hundred Dollars per M. feet I have consigned to him the quantity in the accompanying Invoice¹ which I was induced to do as we will have more than we perhaps can send next year and as Captain Hayne informed me he must touch somewhere for supplies his going to Owhyhee is not out of his route. I agreed to give him one thousand Dollars for freight as his Supplies will cost him dearer there than in California; we must avail ourselves of all the resources of this Country if we have to Compete for the trade of it with the Americans as we may depend they will turn every thing they possibly can to account.

10. At this moment I am informed the Americans give three Blankets of three points for two Skins, and so short are we of Goods that on the 14th Ulto. in consequence of the increased price we have been obliged to pay for Furs at Fort Langley that we had there only two hundred Blankets of two and a half point and six trading Guns and at this place, exclusive of what we have on two Trading excursions, there are only one thousand Blankets and ninety trading Guns, which latter are now selling by our opponents for two Skins and on the Coast for only one.

11. Even allowing your honors send us the same quantity as was lost in the *William & Ann* and though we will apply to the trade of 1830 what was intended for 1831 still at the rate we now pay for Furs we will be short of the Staple articles, Blankets and Guns. I therefore consider it necessary that on the Receipt of this your honors Immediately send us the Requisition for Shippment 1830 which Governor Simpson took with him and the requisition¹ I now forward amounting to £ as the requisition calculated upon when Govr. Simpson was here for the trade of outfit 1829, 1830, 1831, & 1832 from the increased rate we will be obliged to pay furs at Fort Langley on the Coast and at this place we now find will require the addition of the requisition I now forward to suffice for the trade of 1829, 1830 & 1831 which I state that your honors may be aware of our situation, and that you will receive a Requisition for outfit 1832 by way of York Factory

¹ These documents have not been traced.

next summer to replace the one we will have appropriated to preceeding outfits to be Shipped from England Fall 1830 so as to be here in 1831 to afford us one years stock constantly in advance, the want of which since 1823 has been a great injury to the trade of this department. But it may be remarked why was not a Requisition for a large Outfit made when Govr. Simpson was in the Columbia, to this I have to observe that being anxious to be as oeconomical as possible we conceived we could carry on the trade with less Goods than we now find necessary, as we then considered the opposition as merely coasters who put in to collect a few Stragling Skins and certainly had no Idea they intended to sit down and contend the trade with us. I am afraid our demand for Goods will be considered great, but I think it so important to make our opponents pay high for every thing they get, that I conceive whenever they are on the coast it would be adviseable to give Indns. even two Blankets for a large Beaver rather than allow them to procure any quantity, as even at this rate the price at which Beaver sell in England will leave us a profit.

12. I forward Lieut. Simpson's opinion¹ on the Vessels best adapted for the coasting trade, and I am of opinion we ought to have two (exclusive of the *Cadboro* and *Vancouver*) constantly employed in the coasting trade; one of the Craft, either the *Cadboro* or *Vancouver* with ten men and an officer to be attatched to Frasers River (Fort Langley) this Vessel reinforced by a few hands from that Establishment would be constantly going between that place and De Fuca Straights, with the crew I suppose you will put in the Vessel sent to replace the *William and Ann* and the people we have, we can man her and one of the Small craft for the coast. If two Brigs are to be on the Coast you will have still to provide one with officers and men, the complement for a Crew of a Vessel for the Coast of the size recommended is twenty five men and officers to which his number might be made up with Sandwich Islanders by the Captain being instructed to procure them from Mr. Charlton, and we would require for the crew of the small Vessel attatched to Fort Langley six seamen.

¹ This has not been traced.

These are the measures I have to submit to your honors for carrying on the Coasting Trade, as I am certain the sooner we oppose our Competitors strongly the Cheaper we will find it in the end.

13. If your honors send a Vessel on the receipt of this, as she will be here in the fall or beginning of winter and it may be expedient to have a person to command her who has been in the Columbia, as the Bar at all times dangerous is in fall and winter more so, I am sorry to say Capt. Hayne is so much addicted to Liquor I conceive it would be hazarding the safety of the Vessel to give him charge of her. I have several times perceived he had made free with Liquor before Breakfast, often have I seen him intoxicated before dinner, very seldom have I seen him perfectly sober after dinner: it is very unpleasant to be obliged to state these circumstances, especially as Capt. Hayne has been extremely obliging and accommodating. But I conceive I would not be discharging my duty I owe to Humanity and to the concern if I with-held this information. Mr. Hall his mate is sober and attentive to his duty and had it not been for his presence of mind the *Ganymede* would have been lost in Chinook Bay. In Capt. Hayne's account Spirits is charged 18/- per Gall. the price it is sold to Servants. I do not know if I am correct in charging this price but even if not I would have still have done so to prevent too great a demand: the Pork is some purchased by Lieut. Simpson at the Sandwich Islands and only charged the actual cost.

14. Our Crops look uncommonly fine, is now cutting and part Housed. I think we will have fifteen hundred Bushels of Wheat, five or six hundred Bushels of Pease, four hundred of Barley; three hundred of Indn. Corn and six or seven thousand of Potatoes; we will salt above forty Barrels of Pork and have two hundred head of Cattle young and old.

15. Lieut. Simpson now sails for the Russian Establishment of New Archangle with Govr. Simpson's Letter to the Govr. of that Russian Establishment on the Northwest Coast;¹ if Lieut. Simpson collects any information sufficiently interesting

¹ D. 4/16, fos. 22d.-24d., and Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 311-12.

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he will on his return proceed with a cargo Deals to Monterey where they sell from forty to sixty Dollars per M. feet and from whence a letter can be sent by way of Mexico.

The Furs have been repeatedly Beaten and Tobacco put in with the small Furs in the Casks and Cases, the latter had Tobacco in them coming here, if they suffer any damage I would advise if there is space in the Vessel coming here that all our Casks now sent be sent back with a few Gallons of Spirits in each as furs are never injured by insects when packed in casks whose Staves are well saturated with Spirits.

In the returns there is a Fur Seal, as we may have dealings with the Russians it is desirable we were informed of their Value as also that of the Sea Otter in London Market.

I am sorry to inform you that Mr. Chief Trader Dease is so indisposed as to be unfit for duty.

With this I forward Copies of the different Requisitions¹ taken from this by Govr. Simpson as settled with him while here in case any accident occurred by which he might have lost the originals.

I am Honble. Sirs

Your Obdt. & humble Servant

(Signed) JOHN McLOUGHLIN

Fort Vancouver 13th Augt. 1829²

To The Govr. Deputy Govr. and Committee
Hudsons Bay Company

HONBLE. SIRs

A few days ago I was informed by Casino an Indian Cheif that he had purchased a fine Gun from Captain Hayne and at the same time received the accompanying note³ per the same

¹ These requisitions have not been traced.

² B. 223/b/5, fos. 13d.-14d.

³ This note has not been traced.

Indian (Stating that Casino had made him a present of a Beaver). On the 9th inst. Capt. Hayne being here I considered it my duty to state to him that such information had been communicated to me and perhaps he was not aware that no British Subject could trade with Indians without a licence¹ and my object in speaking to him was merely to inform him I was in duty bound to inform you of what had occurred, as no person in the service was allowed to trade or even to receive presents from Indians. He replied they had cost him Six Guineas but that he was willing to give them up, on the 11th he sent me a parcel ten large Beaver & two Small; however it is so necessary to send him off satisfied that he may be disposed to take every care of the Furs on board the Vessel, I send him a draft on you for six Guineas. So anxious was I to send him off satisfied that in consequence of his repeatedly expressing a desire to get Furs for a Tippet, I sent him on the 31st ulto. as he was raising Anchor two Beaver and twelve Martens and as I saw we could depend more on the mate to look carefully after the Furs and he had assisted us in the affair of the Clatsops I sent him one Beaver and twelve Martens.

Since mine of the 5th inst. I have no further information relating to the crew of the *William and Ann*, and it may be said if there was no proof of the Clatsops having murdered them why send to demand property that was insured? You will please observe that in insisting on its restitution we expected to elicit some light in regard to the fate of the crew, and the Indians considered the property as ours, and after receiving particular Information of what had been collected by the different Indians if we had not made a demand of it we would have fallen so much in Indian Estimation that when ever an opportunity offered our safety would have been endangered and the conduct of the Indians in the contemptuous reply they sent to Mr. Connolly and their firing on our people left them no alternative but to attack the Indians and

¹ According to the terms of the License of Exclusive Trade, granted to the Company, December 5, 1821. See *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company* (London, 1857), pp. 425-7, and Chester Martin, *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada* (Oxford, 1916), pp. 218-22.

act towards them in the manner they did, and it may be well to state though in my opinion none of the crew were murdered still several of the Gentlemen here think they were.

I have just finished calculating the amount of the Requisition alluded to in the 11th paragraph of my letter of the 5th inst. The amount is high and on that account I refrain from adding about three hundred pounds worth of Second hand Surtoots trowsers and Waistcoats, Gentlemans Cast of Cloaths, the Americans dispose of such articles on the coast.¹ Indeed our Requisition is high from the necessity of having a variety to suit the fancy of the natives, and I see no alternative, we must beat the opposition off or they will be a constant source of annoyance. You will please also observe all the Goods in this Requisition are saleable articles and if we have more than we require they will come in for a succeeding outfit, or we may perhaps dispose of them to the Russians or Spaniards, and after all I presume it is preferable to have a constant supply of Goods to purchase Furs even at only a Clearing price rather than allow them go to the opposition, and I must again take the liberty to press on your honors attention the necessity (as stated in the 11th Paragraph of my letter of the 5th inst.) of this Requisition and the shipment for 1830 taken from this by Govr. Simpson, being here in November 1830 or earlier if possible.

I am Honble. Sirs

Your obdt. humble Servant

(Signed) JOHN McLoughlin

¹ B. 223/c/1, fo. 13, Æmilius Simpson to McLoughlin, September 22, 1828, "The Articles principally Traded by the American Vessels now visiting the Coast are Blankets (principally 3½ point), Duffles, Strouds, Cottons, Calicoes, Arms, Ammunition, rum, axes, Knives, buttons, fish hooks, Vermillion, Tobacco, and made Cloathing viz. Sartoots or Frock Coats, Waistcoats, Trowsers, Shirts, Hats, Shoes, Hankerchiefs, a variety of beads, Bracelets, brass Wire, looking Glasses, hiaquas are purchased from the Newette Tribe &c. and form a great article of Trade with the Northern Indians, a small assortment of Glass and Crockery ware would find a ready sale among these Indians."

Fort Vancouver 11 Oct. 1830¹

To The Govr. deputy Govr. and Committee
Honble. Hudsons Bay Company

HONBLE. SIRs

I am extremely sorry to have to inform you of the loss of the *Isabella*² on the South end of a sandy Island opposite Clatsop point. The *Isabella* entered the Columbia River on the 2nd of May, but Capt. Ryan³ mistook Chinook Point for Cape Disappointment and came in through the south Breakers; south of the channel the Vessel struck and carried away her Rudder, the wind and Tide drifting her on very heavy Breakers though she was still Stricking Capt. Ryan was obliged to cast anchor and to lighten her by throwing as much of her cargo (as he could) overboard but getting afraid she would go to pieces in the night, and conceiving he had no other means of saving the lives of the crew, abandoned her and proceeded in the Boats to this place which he reached on the night of the 4th May. Immediately I sent a party of our people down, but on their arriving there on the morning of the 6th May they found the Vessel had parted from her anchor and drifted on shore at the place I already mentioned, and though I arrived there on the morning of the 7th with all the remaining people we could spare from this place including Capt. Simpson with the *Cadboro* and crew, we were unable to get the vessel off, but succeeded in saving the greater part of her cargo.

Mr. Manson with part of our people passed the winter at Fort George and saw the *Isabella* coming in on the evening of the 2nd May and perceiving she was not in the channel immediately Started with his people to give assistance, but it being Dark when Mr. Manson reached Clatsop Point and

¹ B. 223/b/6, fos. 13-18d.

² The brig *Isabella*, of about 195 tons, was purchased for £2,900 in 1829 to replace the *William and Ann* on the North West Coast. She sailed from Blackwall on October 30, 1829. The log of this voyage is in C. 1/355.

³ See Appendix B, p. 355.

the wind blowing strong at the time he could not venture to go to the vessel in a canoe but lighted a fire on the point and crossed over to the Sandy Island and lighted another there. Capt. Ryan saw the fires but did not go to them as he was afraid they were made by Indians who would murder him and his crew.

On the morning of the 3rd Mr. Manson seeing no one in the vessel prevailed on an Indians to go on board which he accomplished with danger and difficulty and on his return informed Mr. Manson the crew had abandoned her, of which he immediately sent me intelligence. But previous to the arrival of his messenger I had seen Capt. Ryan, and on the night between the 3rd and 4th It came on to blow hard, the *Isabella's* chain broke and she drifted on the spit where she was wrecked, and when I arrived she had already formed a Dock in the sand and Messrs. Barnston¹ and Sinclair informed me that on their arrival on the morning of the 6th they found 6 feet water in her hold.

When Capt. Ryan arrived here we could not ascertain where he had left his Vessel as he maintained he had followed the directions for entering the Columbia, in which he was (as I already stated) mistaken and it was only when I received Mr. Mansons Letter that we learnt the exact place the vessel lay, and if Capt. Ryan had remained on board with his crew It is certain the vessel would have been saved as on the turn of the tide they had only to slip her cable and she would have drifted into smooth water; but in justice to Capt. Ryan I must observe, he abandoned the Vessel in consequence of her stricking so hard he was afraid she would fall to pieces, which she would, if she had not been uncommonly strong, and if the Indians had time to collect they would murder him and his crew as they went on shore in their Boats, a danger a Stranger in such a case might naturally apprehend.

It is unnecessary to say how much this misfortune has again deranged our Plans, besides the very great trouble and derangement it caused us here, as from the evening of the 4th May untill the 9th June we had to postpone every other object to

¹ George Barnston. See *H.B.S.*, III, 427.

the saving of the cargo of the *Isabella*, drying and transporting it to this place. I forward the account No. 1 of what we saved of the cargo Stores and Rigging, we have no account of the cost of the Vessel or of her Stores and Rigging and we estimated the latter as to it's relative State, but this is more than (situated as we are) It is of intrinsic value to the company.

No. 1 is our account against the underwriters¹ and is as nigh the actual charges as we could make it and by no means remunerates the anxiety we suffered and the danger to which we were exposed, however of course it rests with your Honors to decide, as it is made out under the impression that the underwriters have no claim on the concern for the assistance we afforded, to entitle them to have it Gratuitously.

I forward No. 2 Capt. Ryans Protest and No. 3 the survey.²

On the 10th June the *Eagle* arrived. No. 4 is the a/c of her damaged Goods²; on the 11th The Brigade from the Interior, and on the 29th started with their outfits for their wintering places. On the 6th July Mr. Ogden arrived and I am sorry to inform you lost nine men (drowned out of ten in the Boat) in the Dalles of the Columbia on the 3rd of July; this misfortune occurred at a place where our Boats passed and re-passed every year since the Columbia Trade is established and was never considered to be a place of danger, the Brigade this year happened to meet Mr. Ogden half an hour after the accident and went up in perfect safety. In fact the accident proceeded from the people getting allarmed and loosing their presence of mind, a whirlpool caught the Boat and instead of the men springing on their paddles to pull her out they dropt them and she went down by the stern, by this unfortunate occurrence Mr. Ogden lost five hundred Beaver, his Journal

¹ A. 6/22, fo. 107, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, September 21, 1831, "The loss of the brig *Isabella* is on many accounts to be regretted, we trust however that it will not prove of any serious consequence to the Coasting Trade, as the various stores saved from the wreck have no doubt enabled you to equip the Vessels built at Fort Vancouver in a proper state for Sea we herewith transmit a statement of the accounts as settled with the Underwriters, by which you will notice, that there has been recovered 75 p. Ct. on the Ship and £27. 0. 6d. on the Cargo."

² These documents have not been traced

and all his papers. No. 5 is Mr. Ogdens Report¹ of his transactions and occurrences last winter, by this document your Honors will see that on leaving Walla Walla last Fall Mr. Ogden proceeded to unknown or Ogdens River² then south to the Rio Colorado which he descended till nigh the Gulph of California, turned north, crossed over to the South Branch of the Bonaventura, descended it to the Bay of St. Francisco, then ascended the North branch of the Bonaventura till he came to the head of it, where he hunted winter 1826 & 7 and from thence to Walla Walla.

Your Honors will perceive that Mr. Ogden has become acquainted with or visited and explored the country between the Columbia and Rio Colorado and the country between the Columbia and California except a small stripe between Mr. McLeods track³ and the Sea and between Clamit or McLeods River and St. Francisco.

The country visited last winter by Mr. Ogden is the poorest in Furs that he had hitherto explored as your honors will see by the diminuation of His Returns, but as it was a new country we could not know how it was Stocked in Beaver till we had explored it.

Having completed Mr. Ogdens party with some of Mr. McLeods men on the 4th Augt. they started on their return to their winter grounds. Mr. Ogden went with them to Walla Walla to complete their arrangements and transferred the charge to Mr. Work.

On the 28th July Mr. McLeod arrived: on his way here he visited Sasti Vally⁴ but found very few Beaver, on the 8th Augt. (as the *Dryad* was later in coming here than I expected from your honors Dispatch of the 28th Feby. 1829, I was afraid if she did not come we might loose these mens

¹ This report has not been found, but in D. 4/125, fos. 85d.-86, Ogden to the Governor, Chief Factors and Chief Traders, Fort Vancouver, March 12, 1831, there is a brief account of his movements from October, 1829, until June 30, 1830.

² Humboldt River. See p. 75, n. 1.

³ Alexander Roderick McLeod. See *H.B.S.*, III, pp. 448-50.

⁴ Shasta Valley, cf. *H.B.S.*, III, 449.

services) after equipping his people he started with Mr. McKay and eleven men to explore and hunt the head waters of the Wallahamette River which has never been visited by whites and is to return when the rainy season sets in.

On the 16th Augt. the *Dryad* reached this. In his Voyage here Capt. Minors touched at Bona Vista, Falkland Islands and Wahoo I forward the account of damaged Goods on board the *Dryad* (say No. 4)¹.

The supply of Goods received this year enables us to meet all demands for the Trade though if an opposition had remained we would have been short of Guns and Green Blankets, but as we are by ourselves we can regulate according to our means: but we can never bring (along the coast) the Indians to the old prices of five Beaver for one Blanket and I do not know if ever we will be able to increase the present price of one Large Beaver for a Blanket.

I forward a copy of our requisition¹ for Shipment from England 1831 (the original was sent to York last March) and intended (as it shows) for the supply of the Trade for outfit 1833. I am of opinion now that our opponents have left us, that this with the requisition forwarded per *Ganymede* and what we have received Per *Isabella*, *Eagle* and *Dryad*, will be more perhaps than we require for the Trade of outfit 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, but at the same time we are unacquainted with the actual demand of the coasting Trade, and as we have requested nothing but what is Saleable it is better to have a little more than to run short.

On the 8th July the *Cadboro*, *Eagle* and *Vancouver* (the latter manned by the crew of the *Isabella*), proceeded to Fort Langley, the N.W. coast, and to visit Nass; as the natives are reported to be very numerous and very hostile to Whites it was important to visit them with a strong force, at the same time it was necessary (as the Country was Known to be Rocky and Mountainious and the people to form the Establishment not being here) to examine the place and ascertain the site to build on.

On Capt. Simpons reaching Ft. Langley, finding he was

¹ These documents have not been traced.

loosing time from the bad sailing of the *Vancouver* and as there was an American coaster in the Straights, Capt. Simpson acceded to Mr. C. T. McDonalds request and left the *Vancouver* in De Fuccas Straights. I forward Capt. Simpsons Report¹ and the Furs traded at Nass are Seperate, the quantity traded in the short space of time Capt. Simpson was there promises fair and the quality of Beaver and Martens is very fine.

The Intermitting Fever (for the first time since the trade of this Department was Established) has appeared at this place and carried off three fourths of the Indn. population in our vicinity: at present there are fifty two of our people on the sick list In which number is Mr. Ogden, but thanks be to God for his great goodness all our people are on the convalescent list. This sickness obliges us to postpone our sending to Establish Nass till our people recover, or till the Express arrives, and you may depend as soon as we can we will fullfill our Instructions on this point.

If the Brig and one of the Schooners suffice to take the outfit people and provisions to Nass and their own Supplies for the coasting Trade, the other will be sent to the South to Lima, touching on her way at California and perhaps at Acapulca with Salmon or Boards to ascertain the demand and price of these articles; but if the Schooner and the Brig do not suffice to take the Nass outfit &c. and their own supplies for the coasting Trade the three Vessels will be employed for that purpose.

In consequence of what I state in the proceeding paragraph as it is necessary Capt. Simpson should go on the coast, the largest Vessel is required for the purpose and he ought to have her as he must have to carry on the greater part of the Trade; and having heard that Capt. Minors had said he considered himself fixed to the *Dryad*, to prevent difficulties hereafter I asked Captain Minors if he had any objections to change Vessels if business required it and rendered it necessary. He immediately replied he would not change, that he would not give up his Vessel, that he felt himself perfectly competent to take the Vessel wherever I wished to send her. I replied no reflection was intended by this change to be made on his

¹ B. 223/c/1, fos. 19-24d. See Appendix A, pp. 305-13.

abilities as a navigator, that in the first place all the Vessels and crews in the companys Service attached to this Department were under Capt. Simpson, and read him the 11th paragraph of your Honors Dispatch of the 28th Octr. 1829,¹ and that it was necessary he should take the immediate command of whatever Vessel was considered best adapted to the business he had to perform, that our convenience ought to give way to the circumstances of the business. He replied he would not give up the command, I then asked him was I to consider he would refuse to give up the command if I ordered him to give it up; he answered he would refuse to give it up and that as long as he had an arm to raise no man here shall deprive of his Vessel. I said we were on business and our transactions must be in a business like manner: after a pause of some minutes he asked me if I had any farther commands. I replied none, but on his going out of the Door (as this had been all in private) it occurred to me it was necessary to have two persons present and requested him to step in a few minutes and stated my object, stating that as I had to account for my conduct such measures were necessary on my part, and called in Mr. James Douglas² and Capt. Graves, who happened to be the only two Gentlemen at hand, and in their presence desired Capt. Minors to give up the command of the *Dryad* and that he would get the command of another Vessel. He replied he would not give up the command of the *Dryad*, that I was not authorized to deprive him of his command, but that he would take his Vessel to any place I required. I made no reply and

¹ A. 6/22, fo. 46d., Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, October 28, 1829, par. 11, "We have every confidence in Lt. Simpsons zeal and judgment, and while the shipping as well as every other branch of the business is under your direction, yet as he as Senior Officer will have the superintendence of the Marine department we wish that all orders from you connected with that Department pass through that Gentleman, in order to give him that weight amongst the Officers and Men, so necessary for the wellbeing of this branch of the Service."

² James Douglas joined the North West Company in 1819 and at the coalition of 1821 he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. He took up his duties as accountant at Fort Vancouver in 1830. His importance mounted during the period to be dealt with by the second volume of McLoughlin's letters, and detailed consideration of his career as a servant of the Company is deferred until that volume.

in a few minutes he asked me if I had any further commands. I answered none, and he withdrew and on the morrow sent him the following note (see Letter No.).¹ I sent Dr. Kennedy² with this note and desired him to request an answer, on his return he informed me Capt. Minors said he would give me an answer in the course of the day. I waited two hours, our business pressing as your Honors will see by the date of this. I took Mr. James Douglas and Mr. James Birnie with me. On coming on board the *Dryad* I found Capt. Graves there and requested him to remain a few minutes, and addressing myself to Capt. Minors told him I had sent him a note to which he had sent no answer and that I now came to know if he was ready to proceed to take an Inventory of the Vessels Stores &c. He said he was not ready and that he would not give up the command and that I was not authorized to deprive him of it. I told him I was authorized and to send him to England if he conducted himself improperly, which I now did for the reasons stated in my note; a conversation took place similar to that of yesterday. Seeing all my endeavours to do the business in a genteel manner were in vain and no other alternative remained, I called Mr. Duncan the first Mate but he did not come as he was sick. I then called Mr. Young the 2nd Mate and told him he was no longer to consider Capt. Minors as his Commander. Capt. Minors took up the word and said Mr. Duncan Mr. Young and the crew will obey my orders. I then called the crew to the quarter Deck and as they did not come till I had called them four or five times (there are only four or five able to do Duty) and perceiving by their conduct they were disinclined to obey my Orders, I made Mr. James Douglas read their agreements to them. The Carpenter Myers made objection to his agreement and said it had not been read to him in England, his signature was pointed out to him at the bottom, and I told him it was his business of course never to put his signature to an Engagement without Knowing its obligations, that in the present instance we found his name signed to his Engagement and we must conceive him as bound by it and accordingly act

¹ B. 226/b/6, fos. 12d.-13. ² Dr. John Kennedy. See Appendix B, p. 246.

on it; the Engagements of the others were read to them. I then asked them if they considered themselves bound to obey my orders, they said they would follow their agreements. I asked what they did understand by their agreements, one of them (Blackey) said I suppose I must obey you, the others said the same. I then sent Mr. Young to the sick men in the fore-castle who gave the same answer. I then asked Mr. Young how he understood his agreement, he replied he would obey my orders; then addressing Capt. Minors I asked him if his intentions were to obey my orders, he said since affairs had taken such a turn he would go to England. I ordered Mr. Young (as Mr. Duncan is sick) to take an exact Inventory of the Vessels Stores &c. &c. In the course of this discussion Capt. Minors repeatedly said in the presence of his crew that he would not give up the command of his Vessel as long as he could raise an arm. If I attempted to take his Vessel from him blood would be spilt, and from his expressing that Mr. Duncan Mr. Young and the crew would only obey his orders, and when he found they followed their agreements his saying "since affairs had taken such a turn he would go to England" I am convinced in my own mind that Capt. Minors did tamper with his crew with a view of getting them to support him in opposition to us, and contrary to what I conceive was his and their duty. I am well aware that it never was expected by your Honors that he would be removed from the command of the *Dryad* but situated as we are we have no alternative,¹ and even if the present case had not required to change him, his habits are such that I am certain they would have obliged us to deprive him of his command. I have frequently seen him in a state of inebriety and one Sunday after dining with me he returned in the evening completely intoxicated and apologized for being so, by saying our Blacksmith had paid him a visit

¹ D. 4/18, fo. 68, Simpson to McLoughlin, July 2, 1831, "We highly approve of the decisive measures you took with Capt. Minors, who it appears conducted himself with great impropriety. In those measures you acted up both to the spirit and the Letter of the Governor & Committee's instructions, as the marine Establishment is as much under your controul and subject to your direction as any other branch of the business."

and he had taken an extra Glass with him. It is as painful to my feelings to be obliged to relate as much as I am aware it is distressing to yours to hear circumstances reflecting on any Individual, but I conceive it my duty to give you as correct information as I possibly can. A man may indulge moderately and sometimes freely and be qualified to carry on business in many parts of the world, but to carry on business among Indians he must be strictly sober.

With the three Vessels we now have, the *Dryad*, *Cadboro* and *Vancouver*, and the Post of Nass we hope to be able to manage the coasting Trade and to ascertain if Timber and Salmon will sell to the Southd. but if there is a demand for Timber of course our Shipping will have to be increased in proportion. By Mr. C. T. McDonald Report¹ which I now forward you will see a large quantity of Salmon can be procured at Fort Langley.

The Boston Brig *Owhyhee* Capt. Dominus which arrived here in Feby. 1829 sailed from this in July last, since her departure we have had no opposition, but we have been obliged to Keep our parties running to Indians as much as ever to prevent their having any number of Skins in the event of any coaster coming here.

Our Crop (except thirty six Bushels of Barley sown on the 11th July after the water was fallen and which is now almost ready to cut) is all threshed. It yilded

927	Bush.	Wheat	
120	„	Early Pease	
192	„	Grey do.	
297	„	White do.	
600	„	Indn. Corn	
150	„	Oats	
86	„	Barley	and we have remaining of former

years

1100	Bush.	Wheat
300	„	Barley
80 cwt.		Flour—H.P.

In short we have Wheat and Flour for two years and more than a years Stock of Pease and

¹ D. 4/123, fos. 66d.-72, Archibald McDonald to the Governor and Council, Northern Department, February 25, 1830.

Corn, hereafter we will not endeavour to do more than Keep up the quantity of Wheat but to increase our Pease and Corn till we have two years Stock.

We have a full cargo of Deals for the *Eagle* but she was detained so long on her trip to Nass by contrary winds and we have so few men at present fit for duty that to give her a cargo would detain her so much longer than the date you fixed for her departure and it does not seem by your Instructions you wish she should stop at any place on her way home, I decided on giving her none especially as those sent per *Ganymede* are not yet sold. Mr. Charlton writes me he Keeps them up because he could only get thirty Dollars per M. feet but this price will pay us. I will accordingly write him by the first opportunity to sell them.

The Furs of the different places are Shipped seperate but you will observe that those of the Southn. Expedition belong to outfit 1828. I forward the account current of that Expedition and also Mr. Ogdens.¹

One of the Mates will be appointed to the command of one of the Schooners.

It affords me great pleasure to report to your Honors that Capt. Graves has most zealously afforded us every assistance in his power.

Refering your Honors for further Information on the Business to the accompanying documents.

I have the Honor to be

Honble. Sirs

Your M. H. O. Sert.

(Signed) JOHN McLOUGHLIN

¹ These accounts current have not been traced, but the following results have been taken from B. 223/d/27, fos. 6d.-7. "Recapitulation of Furs Shipped 1830."

OUTFIT 1829	<i>Southn. Expedn.</i>	<i>Snake Expedition</i>		<i>Southn. Expedn.</i>	<i>Snake Expedition</i>
Beaver Large	2018	1091	Fishers		1
Small	222	204	Musquash		4
Large } damagd.	468		Otters Land Large	236	90
Small } damagd.	53		Small	24	
Coating lbs.	16	20	Damagd.	66	

OCTOBER 12, 1830

Fort Vancouver 12th Octr. 1830¹

William Smith Esqr. Secy. to the
Honble. Hudsons Bay Company

DEAR SIR

Inclosed is a list² of some articles belonging to the Naval
Dept. of this Place which I hope you will have the goodness
to get repaired and sent back to the Country.

I am Dear Sir

Your Obedt. Humble Servt.

(Signed) JOHN McLoughlin

Fort Vancouver 24th Novr. 1830³

To The Governor Deputy Governor and Committee
Honorable Hudson's Bay Company

HONORABLE SIRs

In the 18th paragraph of my last per *Eagle* I informed
your Honors that all our people who had been on the sick list
were in a convalescent state, I am sorry to be obliged now to
inform you that the fever broke out with increased violence
and that at one time we had seventy five on the sick list, how-
ever it is now reduced to forty five and we have had no new
case of Fever these last twelve days. In this state of our people,
so many of the Sailors in Hospital and not having a sufficient
number of landmen in health to spare to complete the number

¹ B. 223/b/6, fo. 19.² This list has not been traced³ B. 223/b/6, fos. 23d.-25d.

required for Nass,¹ I conceive it more adviseable to defer Establishing that place till Spring 1831, rather than run the risk of ruining the business by sending a sickly crew at this boisterous season of the year; and not to allow our Vessels remain Idle, on the 18th Inst. the *Vancouver* Capt. Ryan was despatched to Wahoo with a cargo of thirteen M. feet Deals and the *Dryad* Capt. Simpson sails for Monterrey with a cargo of thirty five M. feet and 60 Barrels Salmon (of 200 lb. each) to ascertain their value in Calefornia, but we cannot send either of these Vessels to Lima or Valporaso as they are both required here in the beginning of March to go to Nass. As to the *Cadboro* she is unfit to go to Sea till she gets a thorough repair.

In my last I stated by mistake that it did not seem your Honors wished the *Eagle* should touch at any place on her way home, on the Return of the *Eagle* from the North I referred to your Honors Dispatch to see if I was correct (as till then I had in mind that you intended she should take a cargo of Deals to Wahoo on her return home), but on reading your 8th par. the Sentence "between the time of her arrival and Departure for England which should not be latter than the first week in Octr." I concluded I had at first mistaken your Honors Intentions and that it was your desire she should go from this to England without touching at any Post. It is true

¹ D. 4/16, fos. 5-5d., Simpson to William Smith, Secretary, Fort Vancouver, November 17, 1828, "It is therefore necessary for the Salvation of our interior Trade in the event of our being excluded from the Columbia, that we should have a Settlement on the Babine (or Simpsons River) situated in Lat. 54 at the Port of Nass which is the grand mart of the Coast both for Sea Otters and Land Skins. The establishing of this Post will be a work of great danger, and great expense on account of the number and hostility of the Natives and of their powerful means of offence, indeed it cannot be attempted with a smaller force than One Hundred Officers and Men say 50 for the Establishment and 50 for the two Vessels to protect and act in concert with the Land Party while building. A strong establishment at this point would collect the Land Furs that come down from the Northern parts of New Caledonia which forms the principal returns made by the Americans on this coast, it would likewise enable us to settle the Country to the eastward of the Russian Boundary Line running parallel with the Coast which is now drained by their Establishment at Norfolk Sound, and in co-operation with our Shipping would in the course of 2 or 3 Years compel the Americans to relinquish the contest." Cf. *H.B.S.*, III, 263.

I could not load the *Eagle* without detaining her longer than you intended, but this is no excuse for my asserting what was not correct, and the only apology I have and the only way I can account how the passage in your 12th par. in which you state "and she may be filled up in her homeward voyage with timber for the Sandwich Islands if you should find it desirable" escaped my observation at the time I was writing is, that Mr. Ogden was ill of the Fever and also Dr. Kennedy, I had to attend to the sick who were about fifty in number, we had to Pack the Furs, to attend to the Indian Trade, and to the Indians, who frightened at the Mortality amongst them came in numbers to camp alongside of us giving as a reason that if they died they knew we would bury them, most reluctantly on our part we were obliged to drive them away, and I must add to this the other urgent work of the place so that in fact I was as well as my assistants Messers. James Douglas, Ermatinger, and Bernie Kept constantly employed from day light to eleven at night. I say I was employed but in truth I might say harrassed in mind and Body as much as possibly could be, and in fact so much had your 12th par. escaped my notice by being called off when I was reading the Dispatch, and on resuming the perusal passing over that par. that consequently having only the 8th par. in my mind, I remained with a doubt whether you meant the *Eagle* should touch at any place or not (and accordingly expressed it) till the 20th Octr. when on reperusing your Dispatch, I found my mistake, and the impression I had till I referred to your dispatch on the return of the *Eagle* from the north, was correct; and in fact it was my being unable to account to myself how it could happen that I had during the whole summer been impressed with the Idea that I was authorised to send the Vessel to Wahoo with a cargo of Deals on her way to England that made me refer on the day I state to your Honors Instructions, when I saw by your 12th par. that my first impression was correct. I must confess such an oversight must appear careless and inattentive on my part but I hope it will be viewed by your honors in its true light, that is as proceeding from having too much at that time to attend to.

I avail myself of this opportunity of make up for an omission in my last and beg to assure you I am extremely sensible of the approbation you are pleased to Express in the 22nd par. of yours of 28th Octr. of my conduct in managing the Business entrusted to my Charge,¹ and that I will as I have hitherto done endeavour to promote the Interest of the concern as much as I possibly can.

Mr. Harriott arrived here on the morning of the 2nd Inst. and I am sorry to state had the misfortune to lose seven men drowned in a Rapid below Okanagun Dalles; the place has been always considered sufficiently safe to run with loaded Boats, in this Instance there were four Boats in company, the three first past safe and were allowing themselves merely to drift with the current till the fourth came up as by getting in a whirlpool she had fallen a little behind. But the next Rapid is so nigh the one the Boat wrecked in that the three first were in it before they saw the wrecked Boat which was drifting along with two men on the bottom of it; the first Boats immediately put ashore and the men dispersed themselves along the beach to see if they could give assistance, but to no purpose as they saw none of the crew except the two in the Bottom of the Boat who were saved, and the Steersman who had jumped out of her and swam ashore.

I am to day informed that a stream chain was landed at Bonavista from the *Dryad's* Stores, and at the Falkland Islands a Bolt of Canvas \$ 7. and some Junk was sent to the *Adiona*, besides fifteen buckets of Molasses a cask of Vinagar and several other things sent aboard the Brig *Arab*, which sailed in company with the *Dryad* across the Atlantic, the only articles entered in the Log as gone from the *Dryad* are the canvas and ten Gall. Molasses and these were only entered two days ago as is evident by the Ink and by Mr. Duncan's own confession, and Capt. Minors has not accounted for a

¹ A. 6/22, fo. 48d., Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, October 28, 1829, par. 22, "We notice with much satisfaction the success which has attended your exertions in Agricultural pursuits and raising Stock, and trust you will continue to prosecute these objects, indeed your whole management is marked by a degree of energy zeal and activity highly creditable to yourself, important to the interests of the Service and meeting our warmest Commendations."

single Item of the above when settling the a/c of his Disbursements with us. It appears by the Log and Mr. Duncans Statement (when the question was put to him) that Louis Vernet only supplied four oxen and you see by the accounts forwarded by the *Eagle* that more are charged. I am too well aware of the injury the company must suffer by reflections on the characters of their officers, to listen to any reports on light grounds as it destroys discipline, and lowers them in the opinion of their Inferiors, but when such rumours as these are in circulation if the superior who hears them does not inquire into them those who spread these reports may suppose that he is guilty of such practices and, fearfull of being exposed himself, he wishes to cover the peculation of others, and in this case, from Capt. Minors conduct to myself nothing but a sense of duty and the annoyance I feel at the company being defrauded makes me mention it.

The last accounts from the Interior are by Mr. Harriott and the business is going on in the usual way. Our saw mill in consequence of the sickness has been Stopt for two months and a half but is now going.

I am Hond. Sirs

Your Obt. H. Servant

(Signed) JOHN McLOUGHLIN

Fort Vanr. 16th June 1832¹

To The Governor, Dep. Governor, & Committee
He. H. Bay Compy.

I have the pleasure to inform your honors, that the *Eagle* entered this River on the 18th, & arrived at this

¹ B. 223/b/8, fo. 4-4d. Neither the original nor any copy of McLoughlin's dispatch to the Governor and Committee dated October 20, 1831, has been traced, in the Company's archives, but a transcript from a copy contained in a letter book in Reed College Library, Portland, Oregon, is in Appendix A, pp. 230-5.

place on the 31st Ulto., & delivered her cargo in excellent condition.

By the Spring express you have received intelligence of the accident which befell the *Vancouver*¹ in the entrance of Portland Canal, & I am sorry to say that we have not been able to erect a purchase sufficiently strong to haul her on the Land till yesterday, when the water was almost level with the bank. Until this was effected it was impossible to set about repairing her, & she is so much injured that Capt. Kipling thinks it is as much as our Carpenters can do to have her ready for sea by this time next year.

At present the *Eagle* goes with a cargo to Woahoo, & if with the proceeds of it & that sent p. *Ganymede*, Mr. Finlayson² finds a vessel to suit our purpose, he will purchase her, & even should he find it preferable, rather than sacrifice the property by selling it too cheap, he will draw on your honors for the amount.

Of course I am aware that we are not authorised to enter into transactions of this nature without your express directions; but when it is considered that vessels such as would suit us are often sold at the Sandwich Islands for 5 or 7 thousand dollars, and that our Naval people who are idle on our hands, will cost us this Year £460 in Wages alone; & that from the want of a vessel our Coasting Trade is not carried on with the energy it ought, your Honors will, I trust, approve of the responsibility we have assumed.

I am afraid your Honors are disappointed that we have not a vessel built, or even on the Stocks. In explanation I beg to observe, that in 1829, after it had been settled to build a vessel here, we were unexpectedly assailed by a strong opposition, which employed our whole attention till summer 1830, when it left us, & the fever immediately broke out, & of which Mr. Anderson³ our Ship-builder, who came here Fall 1829,

¹ No detailed account of the accident to the *Vancouver* has yet been discovered in the Company's archives.

² Duncan Finlayson. See *H.B.S.*, I, 437-8.

³ James Anderson of Stromness, Orkney, who was engaged in April, 1828, for five years as a shipbuilder at £50 per annum for the first three years and £60 per annum for the last two years. He died on December 25, 1830.

OCTOBER 28, 1832

died. Winter 1830/31 our Carpenters were employed giving a thorough repair to the *Cadboro'*; & from Summer 1831 to Spring 1832 the fever raged with greater violence than during the preceding Year; so much so that even if Mr. Anderson had not died it was impossible for us to set about building a vessel since 1830, on account of the sickness & thorough repair of the *Cadboro'*; & previous to that date, as I have already stated, the opposition gave us full employment.

I am,

Hble. Sirs,

Your obt. hble. Servt.

(Sd.) JOHN McLoughlin

Fort Vanr. 28th Octr. 1832¹

To the Govr., Depy. Govr. & Committee
H. H. Bay Company

HONBLE. SIRs,

1. As my letters of 16th June & Mr. Finlayson's of 10th September² (copies of which are forwarded with this) will inform your Honors of our proceedings up to these dates, I have now the pleasure to inform you that Mr. Finlayson arrived at Fort George on board the *Lama*³ Capt. McNeil⁴ on the 14th inst., & on the same day the *Eagle* arrived from Fort Langley with the Returns of that place.

¹ B. 223/b/8, fos. 26d.-30.

² B. 223/b/8, fos. 23d.-25. See Appendix A, pp. 336-8.

³ See Appendix A, pp. 336-7. B. 223/b/8, fos. 31d.-32, Declaration by Duncan Finlayson before the British Consul at Oahu, September 12, 1832, "The said Vessel has one Deck and two masts & her length is Seventy Six feet six inches, & her breadth nineteen feet nine inches, & that she measures one hundred & forty five 55/95 Tons, & that she is Brig rigged & has a square Stern, no Galleries, & a Billet head." Cf. Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names*, p. 298.

⁴ Captain William Henry McNeill's long and useful career with the Company will be considered in the second volume of McLoughlin's letters.

2. I hope your Honors will approve of our having purchased the *Lama* & engaged Capt. McNeil & two Mates.¹ These Gentlemen are perfectly acquainted with the Coast, & with the Trade with the Natives, & when it is considered how deficient our people are on these two latter points I hope you will consider what we have done as proper, & that the necessity of the case alone obliged us to act without waiting for your instructions.

3. We expect to be able to keep the *Dryad*, *Lama*, *Cadboro'*, & *Vancouver*, constantly employed next Summer. Mr. Young goes home in the *Eagle*, & is unfit for the Country. And Mr. Finlayson, who is at present at Fort George seeing the Furs put on board the *Eagle* will Settle whether Mr. Scarborough² & Capt. Duncan go home.

4. It gives me great pleasure to report to your Honors, that Capt. Duncan, by his zealous discharge of his duty has given great satisfaction to those, under whom he has been placed in this Department. The late Captn. Simpson on his death bed³ desired Mr. Ogden to state this to me & Mr. Ogden writes me this year in the same terms of approbation. Your Honors last Year ordered him to be sent home, but he did not return from the Coast till the *Ganymede* had sailed: besides, even if he had been here, we must have kept him, as we had no one to replace him this Year, seeing the situation we were in when the *Dryad* came (Capt. Kipling not being here). I asked him to remain, to which he immediately consented for one Year. But as at the time he may have expected to have the command of the *Dryad*, & as we must place Capt. Kipling in a vessel in which we can give him an Officer acquainted with the Coast, we must give him the *Dryad*, & Capt. Duncan will have the Offer of the *Cadboro'* or *Vancouver*. But perhaps he may feel so much regret at losing the command of the *Dryad* that he may request to go home; if he does, (as we consider his good conduct entitles him to consideration), Mr. Finlayson is to tell him that he will be

¹ William Ulderich and Ephraim Hanson.

² See Appendix B, pp. 355-6.

³ He died at Nass on September 13, 1831. See *H.B.S.*, III, 454-5.

put on the footing of his present Salary, say £100 p. an., till his arrival in England, which is the Sum to which his Salary was raised, when he succeeded to the command of the *Dryad*, & which I hope your Honors will consider him entitled to.

5. Mr. Young applies for an increase of Wages for having acted as Chief Mate of the *Dryad* since Capt. Simpson's death. At the time I was ill of the Fever, & felt too unwell to enter particularly into any subject, and merely told him I could not do it, but would state the case to your Honors. Had I been well, I would have told him that the late Lieutt. Simpson had complained of his careless, inattentive conduct, & that he was fonder of Liquor than became a Young man, & on his return from Monterrey wished to leave him here. On the coast he had to find fault with his conduct. Mr. Ogden in the same way complained of him, & wrote me he ought to be sent home; Capt. Duncan also told me the same, as he could not be trusted with Liquor; & though Mr. Young might say some of these complaints were prior to his being employed as first mate, yet it is certain we employed him merely because we had no other, & had I seen him before leaving this, I would have stated what had been reported to me against him. Prior to his application for an increase of Wages he expressed his desire to continue in the Service; but on account of the complaints I have stated, I told him he had given his resignation last year, & that his situation was filled up.

6. Mr. Scarborough also applied for an increase of Wages for having acted as first mate on board the *Cadboro'*. I told him there were complaints against him that he did not command that respect as an officer which he ought; that it was said he was given to Liquor; but I would state the case to your Honors, as the person who gave me this information was not present, I could only say what I heard. You see what Mr. Ogden says about him, & the late Lieutt. Simpson told me he was quite unfit for an Officer; that the men had no respect for him, which I believe to be the case. But as there are fewer complaints against Mr. Scarborough than against Mr. Young, we may be obliged to keep the first in order to make up our

complement of Officers; as from necessity we must do the best with what we have.

7. It is reported that Capt. Sinclair Drinks, & as he has applied to go home, his request will be acceded to.

8. In concluding this disagreeable subject, I beg to observe that it gives me great pain to be obliged to state these circumstances, & nothing but a sense of duty urges me to the task, as these Gentlemen have always treated me with the utmost respect & politeness. But I consider if I withheld this information from you, I would make myself morally answerable for the evils that might very possibly arise from their misconduct, & it affords us great satisfaction to find that your honors are fully aware of the dangerous consequences that may result from habits of intemperance on board our coasting Vessels.

9. Mr. Work, on leaving this in 1831 proceeded to Arrow Stone River, the only place where there are Beaver in any quantity on this side of the Mountains. But on reaching it he was attacked by the Blackfeet Tribe of Indians, who killed two of his men while at their Traps, & forced him to retreat. Some days after they made an attack on his Camp, wounded himself & two of his men (of whom one has since died & the other disabled for Life).¹ Besides these, two of his men were drowned, & one missing; & whether he was Killed by indians, or by Grizzly Bears, or died of Sickness, is uncertain; & though search was made for him, no traces or remains of his body could be found. He could not, nor would he, have deserted.

10. Mr. Work's Returns are very poor, yet I owe it to him to state that though such is the case, I am satisfied he did the

¹ B. 223/b/8, fo. 15d., McLoughlin to Simpson, September 12, 1832, "Mr. Work arrived here on 27th July, & I am sorry to inform you that three of his party were killed by the Blackfeet . . . on the North Branch of the Flat Head [Clarks] River named Arrow Stone River." For an account of Work's route see W. S. Lewis and P. C. Phillips (eds.), *The Journal of John Work* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1923), from a copy prepared by Mr. R. E. Gosnell for the University of Washington from the original journal in the Provincial Library, Victoria, B.C. A copy of this journal is in B.202/a/11.

utmost that could possibly be done in this instance, as also, I believe, in every other instance in which he had any duty to perform. The Snake Country is exhausted: to give it a years rest, he himself suggested to make an attempt to hunt the Arrow Stone River though he & I were of opinion his party was too Weak.

At his request, however, I allowed him to go; & when it is considered he was well aware of the danger to which he exposed himself—the firmness & zeal with which he prosecuted the attempt, entitle him to my approbation.

11. This Year the Snake Party proceeds towards the Waters of Ogdens River, & if nothing is found there it will proceed to the Bonaventura, but properly the Sacramento of the Spaniards, where Mr. McLeod was in 1828/29.¹

12. I am sorry to inform you that the Fever has prevailed as severely this Year as it did in 1830 & 31; but thanks be to God for his great mercies to us, though all the people (except 8) at the Fort have been affected, & some have had four attacks, yet none have died. But the mortality has been very great among the natives. By the last accounts from the interior, Six of the New Caledonia men were laid up with it at Okanagan, & also several of Mr. Work's party, & I am sorry that by it he was obliged to leave his assistant, Payette,² behind; & yet none were in the least affected with it when the party left this.

13. I forward a copy of the letters I received from Mr. Ogden,³ & my answer.⁴ But there must be Some mistake or misunderstanding in regard to Baron Wrangall's proposal to take Goods from us; as he could not expect the Hudson's Bay Compy. would supply him with Goods at Prime Cost on the N.W. Coast payable in Bills on St. Petersburg. However, if possible, a person ought to pay the Russians a visit, as it seems evident to me that he does not understand the terms he proposes. I think he wishes to cultivate a good understanding

¹ See *H.B.S.*, III, 448-50.

² See Appendix B, pp. 352-3.

³ These letters have not been traced.

⁴ B. 223/b/8, fos. 18-20. See Appendix A, pp. 313-16.

with the Hudson's Bay Company, & that such should exist I consider may prove to the interest of both Parties, as the country is so broken along the coast north of Portland Canal, that perhaps unless we had a friendly understanding with the Russians, we can get no situation to erect an Establishment in a suitable place (without too much expense or trouble) to extend the trade to the interior, North of New Caledonia.

14. Our Crop this Year will exceed

3,000	Bushels	Wheat	1,500	Bushels	Oats
2, or 3,000	„	Pease	800	„	Indian Corn
2,000	„	Barley	50	„	Buck Wheat
		6,000	Bushels	Potatoes	

15. I forward the amount the Carpenters say it would have cost to put the *Vancouver* in the state she was before she was struck by the Sea. But as she was high & dry when this examination took place, we avail ourselves of this opportunity to give her a thorough repair. Every timber in the least decayed is taken out of her; she will be new planked (which is almost done), have new ceiling, Beams, & Decks.

16. I send you the *Vancouver's* Log Book,¹ but as Mr. Ogden has not sent us an account of the damaged property in her Cargo, I cannot send it. Capt. Kipling's protest is gone by York, & a copy goes with this.¹

17. We put no amount on the Cargo sent to Woahoo p. the *Eagle*, as I consider 5 pr. cent premium of insurance on a cargo from hence to Woahoo, as too high, as the navigation is not dangerous; & indeed I consider 5 p. cent as too high for the N.W. Coast. It is true the natives are treacherous, but we must on that account make the crews strong—with common vigilance they can guard themselves, and the coast is considered by those acquainted with it to be very safe to navigate, as it abounds with Harbours in every direction. Last Winter when the *Vancouver* was driven out there were three Harbors in her reach, had Captain Kipling or any one on board been acquainted with them; & on this account, rather

¹ These documents have not been traced.

than pay five p. cent, would it not be better not to insure? However this of course rests with your honors to decide, & I merely take the liberty to submit it to consideration.

18. I am happy to see that you have received the Sum you did for the loss of the *Isabella*.¹ But though the Underwriters suffered much, yet I can assure you that what was saved from the Wreck was accomplished at imminent peril to ourselves, & which I did not state then, as I well knew that all acquainted with that part of the Country were aware of the character of the Natives, and besides the danger to which it exposed us, it gave us an immensity of Trouble.

19. The Returns of the different places are shipped separate, & they are as usual to be put in a Box in the Vessel, & Capt. Graves is informed of your desire that he should proceed direct to England. All the Crew of the *Eagle* who were in health have been exchanged & we send in their place those of our Sailors whose times expire.

20. I regret the *Eagle* will sail later than you directed, but which, as you see, could not be avoided. If you consider it of advantage to employ the Vessel from England in these Seas during the Summer, it would be more advantageous for her to sail from England in time to be here about the end of March.

I have the honor to be,

Hon. Sirs,

Yr. mo. obt. Servant

(Sd.) JOHN McLoughlin

¹ See p. 85, n. 1.

Fort Vanr. 28th Octr. 1832¹

To the Govr., Depy. Govr., & Committee
H.H.B.Coy.

HON. SIRs,

Enclosed is copy of the queries² I put to Capt. Duncan relative to the Greenwich Boys,³ & his answer.⁴ Capt. Duncan, as you are aware sailed with them from England as mate of the *Dryad* & up to the date they wrote every one of them were in the Vessel with him, & from his situation he must have known if Black Biscuit & Dried Salmon had ever been issued as provisions to any of the crew. And in addition to his testimony, I can say I never ordered Dried Salmon & Biscuit to be issued to any of the Naval Department; & your Honors are perfectly aware that every Department is charged with every item they get from the Dépôt or from any other Department; the Naval Dept. at that time had no trade of its own, & by reference to the accounts it will be seen it got no dried Salmon, & consequently could not issue any. The Biscuit they used when they wrote their Letter, was the Biscuit you caused to be shipped on board of the *Dryad*, & what they have used since that was expended in 1830, is the Biscuit of this place, which is rather superior in quality to that imported, & which I never had the least complaint about—indeed it has always been represented to me that it was

¹ B. 223/b/8, fos. 30-30d.

² B. 223/b/8, fo. 17d.

³ On January 4, 1830, eight lads from the "Marine School" at Greenwich Hospital (the Royal Naval College since 1873) were bound to the Company as apprentices for seven years. They were furnished with clothing and paid £8 per annum for the first two years, £10 per annum for the next two years, £12 per annum for the fifth and sixth years, and £15 for the last year. It was anticipated that as they had been "educated for the Sea service" they would make useful servants on the Pacific coast. Another four boys were engaged for the same service in November, 1830.

⁴ This letter has not been traced.

preferred to the biscuit they got in England. This Summer, the Boys complained to me they had not a sufficiency of Bread. On enquiry I found that in consequence of their wasting & throwing some of their Bread over board, Capt. Simpson had reduced their allowance to 4 lbs. Biscuit & 2 lbs. Flour p. Week, & as in Winter they had potatoes, in Summer an ample supply of fresh provisions, & as Capt. Duncan conceived they had a sufficiency, & had never complained to him that they had not enough, he did not alter what had been fixed on by Capt. Simpson. However I desired him to give them man's allowance, & if they were found wasting it, to put them again for a short time on their former allowance.

On the late Capt. Simpson taking command of the *Dryad* he had a place built up in the steerage for these apprentices so as to keep them entirely separate from the men, which I merely state to shew that we were anxious to make them as comfortable as we possibly could. And as to their complaint against Mr. Duncan I never heard anything about it till I saw your letter.

I have the honor to be, Hon. Sirs, &c.

(Sd.) JOHN McLoughlin

Fort Vanr. 29th Octr. 1832¹

To The Govr., Depy. Govr. & Committee
H.H. Bay Coy.

HON. SIRs,

This morning a party of eleven Americans under the direction of a Mr. Dwight², from Boston, arrived here; they left that place in March, & St. Louis in July. He says he came to ascertain if possible to make a business of curing

¹ B. 223/b/8, fo. 31.

² Probably Wyeth, though "Dwight" is clearly written in the Ms.

Salmon in this River, & at the same time to supply the American Trappers in the Rocky Mountains, but that from what he has seen on the way here, he thinks the latter would not answer, & that if possible, he will endeavor to go to St. Francisco, & return next Summer from thence across land to Salmon River, where the American Trappers are to assemble, & go home with the party that brings them their supplies. He says Salmon would sell for 14 cents p. lb. in the States. It is impossible for us to say, in the short interview we have had with him, if these are his views or not; & though it may be as he states, still I would not be surprised to find that his views are in connexion with a plan which I see in a Boston paper of March 1831, to colonise the Willamette. It seems he started with a party of 35 men. Several left him in the Snake Country to join the American Trappers, & that he had a battle en route, with the Black feet tribe of Indians.

I am, Honble. Sirs,

Your mo. ob. hble. Servant

(Sd.) JOHN McLoughlin

Fort Vancouver 31st August 1833¹

To The Governor, Deputy Governor & Committee
of The Honble. Hudson Bay Company.

HONBLE. SIRS

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your Honors Dispatches of 12th September pr. *Ganymede* which entered the Columbia on the 1st and reached this place on the

¹ B. 223/b/9, fos. 11d.-13d.

13th May and delivered her Cargo in good condition except what is stated in Document No. 2.¹

2. In regard to the complaints of the Greenwich Boys I beg to refer you to No. 3² and as to the complaints of the Sailors I assure you that when in Harbour they have as much fresh fish, Venison or Game with potatoes or other vegetables according to the season as they can eat, and when they have nothing fresh they have the usual allowance of salted Beef, Pork Biscuits &c. and in no instance have they been Kept alone on Salmon or Grain with fat; except it was necessary to leave them on shore in consequence of having brought disease on themselves, which disabled them from performing their duty when they were treated as their case required, and when well they were returned as soon as possible to their Vessel; but while ashore and well they were employed as the men of the Fort and fed on fish, Venison, Game, Grain & fat but principally on Salted Salmon and Potatoes. But those whom the Captains of the Vessels put on shore for their improper conduct on board of Vessel were put to work with our Landmen and fed in the way just stated, which is the provisions People in the Indian Country have been fed on for time immemorial.

3. As soon as the *Ganymede* had discharged her Cargo, she was Dispatched to Fort Simpson³ with supplies for the coasting Trade and to exchange those of the sailors whose Engagements were expired, and who wished to return to Europe. On the 6th Instant she entered the Columbia with Mr. Chief Factor Finlayson whose report of the Coasting Trade I beg to refer you to,⁴ and with whose opinion of this business in general I perfectly agree except that I would make further enquiries before giving up the idea of erecting an

¹ This document has not been traced.

² See p. 114.

³ Established on Nass River by Peter Skene Ogden and Æmilius Simpson in the summer of 1831, and already called Fort Simpson. In 1834 the post was removed to the site of the present Port Simpson and not, as stated in *H.B.S.*, III, 455, to Dundas Island.

⁴ This report, dated August 22, 1833, has not been traced.

Establishment at Stikene, as I consider if we had one there we might extend the trade to the Interior; the map shews the Country to be extensive and New Caledonia in its Vicinity abounds with furs, and even from what we get and the Indian Reports, we have every reason to suppose that in this new Country they are equally abundant. And as to employing a Steam Boat¹ I have no data to give me an idea of the Cost of such a Vessel, but in my opinion they are very expensive; It is true they are the most convenient Vessels we could have on the Coast, but at present with the number of Vessels we have I am of opinion we ought not to open a new Channel of expense, and next year if the Americans do not return I would reduce the Establishment of Vessel to two and remove Ft. Simpson to Dundas Island as Mr. Finlayson suggests or to Stikine if found practicable.

4. On the 15th June the Brigade from the Interior under the charge of Mr. Chief Factor Dease² arrived and the 1st July started to return, and by accounts received from Mr. Chief Factor Dease and Mr. Chief Trader McDonald I am happy to inform you that they had safely got up the Columbia, and that at the date of their Letters they were all well.

5. On the 13th July I had the pleasure to see M. Laframboise & Party arrived with the exception of one man who died in consequence of a wound he received from a Bear, the arrival of this party relieved our minds very much as since September last we had suffered a great deal of anxiety on their account from the many reports that reached us that they had been killed by a distant tribe of Indians.

6. Leaving this, spring 1832, Laframboise attempted to go from McKays Fort on the Umqua¹ to the Ocean by going

¹ Simpson broached the idea of employing a steamer on the Pacific coast in his dispatch to the Governor and Committee of August 10, 1832 (D. 4/99, fos. 16d.-17d.). See *B.C. Hist. Quar.*, II, W. Kaye Lamb, "The Advent of the 'Beaver'," p. 165. B. 223/b/9, fo. 19, McLoughlin to Ogden, October 28, 1833, "The *Nereide* is sent here [Fort Vancouver] by the Company instead of the Steam Boat you suggested which their Honors considered as too expensive and which is also my opinion."

² Peter Warren Dease. See *H.B.S.*, III, 434-6.

a S.W. direction, but finding the Country too mountainous he returned to McKay's Fort and then took Mr. Chief Trader Alexr. Rodk. McLeods tract of 1828 to the Bay of St. Francisco which Laframboise reached on the 15th October, visited St. Francisco, the missions of St. Joseph, St. Francisco Salano & St. Raphael, in the vicinity of which places he made the best part of his hunt and says, as Mr. Alex. Rod. McLeod said before, that the Bay of St. Francisco abounds more in Beaver than any part of the Country that he saw between this and that place. In the winter Mr. Work & party joined them and the two parties remained together under the charge of Mr. Chief Trader Work till May when they seperated in the vicinity of the Russian Settlement of Bodega who as well as the Calefornians treated our people very hospitably. Mr. Work returned to the Sacramento and Laframboise and Party to hunt and explore the country along the Coast between Bodega Bay and McLeods River and in which Laframboise found very few Beaver.

7. The furs procured by Laframboise are shipped seperate and No. 5 is the account current of the Expedition.²

8. We have no accounts of Mr. Work since he seperated from M. Laframboise except that we have Indian Reports by the way of Walla Walla, that he and his party have been killed by the Indians, but we do not believe this and think they mean an American Party which left St. Francisco before our people to hunt along the Coast to this place. Laframboise leaving Bodega saw their tract but as he Kept along the ridge that runs parallel to the sea to hunt the head waters of the Streams that rise in this ridge, he heard nothing of them till he came to the vicinity of the Sasty Mountains, where he heard that this American party had been all Killed along the Coast in the

¹ The site of the "Old Establishment" on the north bank of the Umpqua River was referred to in 1826 and 1828 by A. R. McLeod in his journals (B. 223/a/4 and 5). If McKay established the post it was probably during his wanderings in the Willamette Country and to the southward in 1820 and 1821. The post referred to here was not the same as the Umpqua River fort mentioned in Appendix A, pp. 261 and 282, the site of which was chosen in or shortly before 1836.

² This account has not been traced.

vicinity of McLeods River, and which I am afraid may be unfortunately the case, as they appear to be very little on their guard against Indians & ought to have been here long before this.¹

9. Our crop is very good, our wheat, Pease, Oats and Barley are cut and most of it housed, and Stacked: we expect to have

	3000 Bushels of	Wheat
above 3000	„	Pease
About 1500	„	Barley
„ 1000	„	Oats
„ 1000	„	Buck Wheat

10. Captain Sinclair by his Engagement is entitled to a passage across the Continent which would detain him one year longer on wages, but as he goes by the vessel I told him I would recommend to your Honors to allow him his wages to the time of his arrival in England.

11. Mr. Finlayson is gone to Fort George to examine which of the Vessels will be detained in the Country, and I beg to refer you to him for the reasons that may lead him to the selection he may make.

12. Captain Charlton omitted to inform us this Spring whether he had sold the Companys Timber Deals &c. or not; we infer from his silence that he has not and send him none—the Vessel therefore will proceed direct to England as unless she has a Cargo from here to land at Woahoo, it would be no object to her to lengthen her passage home for freight which she is uncertain of getting.

13. I forward you the Account² of the repairs of the *Vancouver* and am

Honble. Sirs

Your most Obt. Humble Servant

(signed) JOHN McLoughlin

¹ B. 223/b/30, fos. 47d.-48, November 15, 1843, McLoughlin's remarks on Captain Spaulding's report. "But a party of Seven Americans and Englishmen coming from California in 1832 were treacherously attacked by these Indians [of Rogue River], two of them murdered, and the remaining five robbed of there horses and property. After enduring great suffering and privation . . . they reached the Wallamette Settlement in a most miserable plight."

² This account has not been traced.

Fort Vancouver 31st August 1833¹

To The Governor, Deputy Governor & Committee
of The Honble. Hudson Bay Company.

HONBLE. SIRs,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the Copy of the letter addressed by the Greenwich Appre[n]tices which you sent pr. the *Ganymede* and in reply to the 16th paragraph of your Despatch of the 12th September 1832 I have to observe that the only person I could question on this business is Captain Duncan and as he intended to go home by this conveyance, I deferred questioning him till the time of his departure for England, but when at Fort Simpson he made up his mind to remain one year longer in the Country, and therefore it is now out of my power to do myself the pleasure to obey your Honours orders relative to this affair as fully as I wish or to give you any further information in addition to Captn. Duncan's replies of 27th September 1832 to my queries of the 21st of the same, which I forwarded to York per the Express, and copy² of which I enclose as also a copy of the amount of supplies furnished them. The Boys complain of having been ill treated by Mate, at the time they allude to the late Captain Simpson was in charge of the *Dryad* and I am certain he would not have allowed them to be ill treated by anyone, as he was so anxious about their comforts, and to promote their Interest that he had a place built up in the Vessel to keep them a part from the men and to enable them to go on with their studies.

I am

Honble. Sirs

Your Most Obt. Humble Servant

(signed) JOHN McLoughlin

¹ B. 223/b/9, fos. 13d.-14.

² The queries are in B. 223/b/8, fo. 17d. The other documents have not been traced. See p. 107.

Fort Vancouver *7th Sept.* 1833¹

William Smith Esquire
Secretary H.H.B.C.

DEAR SIR,

With this you will receive a small Box marked " Subject for Natural History Hudson Bay Company " containing a piece of Mineral found on Queen Charlottes Island. Dr. Gairdner² has examined it as well as the limited means of the place would admit and finds it to contain Lead, Sulphur, Arsenic, Mercury and a small portion of silver; if found valuable, great quantities might be procured as it is so abundant that the Natives melt it into Balls and buy none from us. Latitude of the place 52.30 N. Longitude 131 according to Capt. McNiell. I also enclose a small memo. which I request may be added to our Requisition.

I am Dear Sir

Your most Obt. Servant

(signed) JOHN McLoughlin

P.S. I am happy to inform you that there are fewer cases of fever so far this year than we have had since the year 1830.
(sigd.) J. McL.

B. 223/b/9, fo. 15.

¹See Appendix B, p. 344.

Fort Vancouver 28th May 1834¹

To The Governor Deputy Govr. & Committee
of the Honble. Hudsons Bay Co.

HONBLE. SIRS

On the 11th April the *Nereide*² Captain Langtry³ anchored in Bakers Bay and on the 23^d reached this and I have the pleasure to inform you that although she has been obliged since she left London to go into three ports to undergo repairs still her cargo is in excellent order with the exception of the articles mentioned as per statement No. 1,⁴ and shews that Captain Langtry has taken great care of the cargo.

I am sorry to see by your Honors dispatch to Governor Simpson dated 1st March 1833 and in yours to me of the 1st of May last⁵ you disapprove of Mr. Finlayson's having

¹ B. 223/b/10, fos. 13-15d.

² The teak built brig *Nereide*, a strong, well-built, fast sailing vessel of about 240 tons, built at Kidderpore in 1821, was purchased by the Company in March, 1833, for £3,650. Although her stowage was small, her ability to work off a lee shore and the effect of her imposing appearance on the natives, made her well suited for trade on the North West Coast. In 1836 she was classed by Lloyd's "in the highest denomination her age would admit of", and in the same year was fitted with ten carronades, besides small arms. The *Nereide* was sold to Joseph Somes of Ratcliff in 1840. Logs for 1833-34 (C. 1/609) and 1839-40 (C. 1/610) are in the Company's archives.

³ See Appendix B, pp. 346-7.

⁴ This statement has not been found.

⁵ A. 6/23, fo. 11, Governor and Committee to Simpson, March 1, 1833, "We notice in Mr. Finlaysons letter that he had purchased the American Brig *Lama* which we do not approve of, she must on no account be sent to this country, as ship and cargo would be liable to seizure, if coming from a British Colony or Settlement. We are also sorry to observe, that he engaged the American Captain and his two Mates." *Ibid.*, fo. 22d., same to McLoughlin, May 1, 1833, "If the report which Mr. Finlayson has heard of Twohundred Families being on their way to settle at the Columbia be true, it may cause you some annoyance, and with such information we are the more surprized, that he should have thought of engaging Americans in the principal situation of our Naval force, as commander and chief mates."

engaged Captain McNiell and his two mates; if there is any fault committed I consider that I am the person who must bear the blame and not Mr. Finlayson, and my reasons for wishing him to engage these men are stated in my letter to Mr. Finlayson dated 17th July 1832¹ No. 2, copy of which I forward with this. But as you desire it they will be dismissed (they are not so much required as formerly) as soon as their time is out. Captain McNiell had better terms from his former employers than from us, and I am informed that he has said that he will not remain on his present terms, he is well acquainted with the coast and has a good knowledge of trade, and if when we began the business we had had in command of the Company's Vessels persons equally well acquainted with the coast and with the manner of dealing With the natives as these men it would have saved the Company a good deal of money and me an immensity of trouble, and it could not possibly be otherwise as our naval Gentlemen were unacquainted with the coast and had never seen an Indian till they came here. I must in justice to myself observe that I never applied for a steam Boat or for a person to be placed at the head of the Naval Department as I consider the first to be unnecessary with the number of vessels we have and that the most advantageous way to carry on the trade of the coast is by establishing posts in the most central situations as I stated in the third paragraph of my letter of the 31st August to your Honors,² and it is in consequence of my foreseeing in 1831 that the naval department would be reduced to two small vessels and probably only one that I did not on the death of Captain Simpson apply for a person to succeed him in the chief command of the navy of this place, as he would not be required and it would be placing a person in a situation to give him claims while the duty would

¹ B. 223/b/8, fo. 9d. "You ought to endeavor to get McNeil for the Coast . . . as he is well acquainted with that business. I would agree to engage him for 3 years at 1,000 dollars p. annum. It is true it is more than the Company pays, but the man's superior knowledge of the business in comparison to any of our Sea Officers, renders his services more valuable, & knowledge is worth something."

² Cf. pp. 110-11.

of necessity have to be performed as it has been except in the sailing part by the person in charge of this place. But to be more explicit my plan was, as I already mentioned, to establish posts in the most central situations, the vessel from England would have to go there with the supplies and receive the returns. One of the Vessels in the country would take the supplies to and the returns from such places as the Vessel from England could not visit, and also would serve to keep up the communication between the different posts and this place—in the autumn would convey them the recruits—in the spring bring us the retiring servants and accounts. The other vessel was to be employed in taking timber to Woahoo, California or elsewhere to the South of this, and if this did not pay her expenses we were to lay her up till she would be required to replace the one on the coast. But if we found a good market for timber and salmon we were then to apply to your Honors for means to carry it on, on a scale equal to the advantages it offered—and think this is still the most advantageous plan we can adopt and will follow it till further orders and in fact it is the plan settled between Governor Simpson and me when he was here in 1829¹ except that experience has taught us that we can carry on the trade of the coast to more advantage by establishing posts than by vessels and that four posts when established will be kept up at less expense than one Vessel,

¹ D. 4/93, Simpson's 1829 Report, fos. 52d.-57d., "Altho' the Fur Trade of this Coast, is not so extensive as it has been represented, it would nevertheless be of great value to the Honble. Compy. if undisturbed by opposition : indeed it is the Land Skins of our interior Country, that renders it at all worth following, as the Marine Furs, form a very small proportion of the returns. . . . An Establishment at Nass, therefore, presenting such important advantages . . . we have determined on forming a Dépôt there. . . . It will require . . . the protection of two Vessels while putting themselves in a state of defence. The presence of two Vessels on the Coast, between the Months of April and September, will likewise be required, to ensure early success in the important object of driving the American adventurers from the coast. . . . During the dead Season of the Year, say from October until March, when little can be done on the Coast, we propose employing the Vessels in carrying Timber, either to the Southern Coast wherever a Market can be found for it, or to the Sandwich Islands. . . ."

for instance for Outfit 1834 the wages of the servants of Fort Simpson will cost say

2 Clerks	£150		
12 Labourers	<u>228</u>	£378	
Fort McLoughlin			} N.B. This Establishment will require less labourers in 1835.
2 Clerks	£200		
20 Labourers	<u>380</u>	£580	
Forts Langley & Nisqually		£737	
		<u>£1695</u>	

and these two last Establishments will raise all the provisions required for the other two places—and your honors will see by the accounts that their returns for Outfit 1833 amount to £4738 and that the profit was £2815. The average wages of one of our vessels for Outfit 1833, £619—provisions for the crew £619, and if to this be added the wear & tear of the vessel and Rigging and that the crew cost as much when the vessel is under repair as when she is in employ, it will be found as I stated that the trade of the coast can be carried on with more economy and with more advantage by establishing posts than by vessels, and besides with posts we become better acquainted with the natives, acquire more influence over them, and gain more correct information of the country, which will enable us to extend the trade to the Interior. As a proof of the influence acquired by establishing posts we have only to observe that it required the protection of a vessel and forty men to erect Fort Langley and at present a clerk and ten men to do the business of the place. And as to the purchase of the *Lama* I have given your honors the reason that induced me to do so in my letter of 16th June 1832,¹ and we would this

¹ A. 6/23, fo. 50d., Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, December 4, 1833, "The explanations given by Governor Simpson in regard to the purchase of the Brig *Lama* at the Sandwich Islands, has removed the impression that was on our Minds, when we last wrote of its being an unnecessary and injudicious measure, and exculpates Chief Factor Finlayson from the blame our remarks on that subject were meant to imply."

year have sold her or the *Vancouver* but that the *Cadboro* must undergo thorough repairs.

In regard to the second part of the plan formed when Governor Simpson was here, that is to endeavour to find a market for deals spars & salmon at Lima or Valparaiso and which your Honors approve in the fourteenth paragraph of your dispatch of the 28th Octr. 1829,¹ I have only to observe, though perhaps it may be superfluous, that we have been so constantly employed with the coast (which required our first attention) that we have never been able to send to those places till now. And as from what I have already said your honors will see that the *Nereide* is not required for the coast—I avail myself of the opportunity she offers and send her with a cargo of deals and spars and salmon and you see by my instructions to Captain Langtry that if he finds the *Nereide* will contain deals & spars which after paying the duties and expenses of sale will leave 5000\$ to cover the expense of the vessel and of collecting the wood here, and that he can make three trips in the year, he is to come back to this place and by the time he gets to the place where he disposes of his lumber with his third cargo he would meet your honors instructions. If you have allowed me and that it can be conveniently done, I will exchange the *Eagle* for the *Dryad* and send the last to England with the furs; and this fall if we find we can dispense with the *Eagle* we will send her with a cargo of spars and salmon to some

¹ A. 6/22, fo. 47, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, October 28, 1829, par. 14, "As bills on England are at a heavy discount in the Sandwich Islands we send you £300 in dollars and hand you letters of introduction and credit to Messrs. Walford & Green of Valparaiso and of Conception and to Mr. John Yates of Lima, to whom you can consign any Timber, Salmon or other Produce you may wish to send to those Markets: we cannot ascertain the extent of the Demand or the prices at those Ports, but the best way of obtaining the information is to forward the articles, and if they cannot be realized while our Ships are on the spot, the houses referred to will dispose of them when a favorable opportunity presents itself and remit to us the Proceeds. These houses will in all probability find an Outlet at other parts of the Coast, whither you can ship direct agreeably to the arrangements they may make if you find that any profit can arise from the Trade or that it even covers charges; as it is much better to keep our People and Ships employed in any remunerating branch of business than idle in Port."

port to the south of this, and if timber sells well she will return to this place, if it does not sell the captain will endeavour to procure freight for England and we will remain here with the *Lama & Vancouver*, & *Cadboro* if we can repair her, and in that case we would sell one of the first as they are too small for the timber trade and two small vessels are sufficient for the coast.

I did not immediately place the naval department under Captain Langtry, as when he arrived arrangements were made for the season and as unless we found employment for our vessels in the timber trade it is necessary to reduce our present Naval Establishment and I suspected that perhaps Captain Langtry could not assume the personal command of our small vessels— After allowing a few days to pass so as to become better acquainted I asked Captain Langtry if he could take the personal command of any vessel suitable to the business he might be employed on? He replied that he could not but would look at his leave: he afterwards told me that he had looked but could not, that his leave was to command the *Nereide*, but to avoid misapprehension I wrote him note No. 18¹ and received note 27² (see these Nos.). If Captain Langtry could have taken the personal command of another vessel Captain Kippling would have been transferred to the *Nereide* as he wishes to go home, and Captain Langtry would have taken the *dryad* and gone on the Coast and when the *Dryad* went home Captain Langtry would have had the command of the Vessel best adapted to the business he would have

¹ B. 223/b/10, fos. 7d.-8, May 12, 1834, "The Naval Establishment in the Country is to be reduced and as the *Nereide* must go to England Mr. McLoughlin wishes to know if Captain Langtry would take the command of any other Vessel remaining in the Country suitable to the Business he may be engaged in Well understood that even if it was found necessary for him to take the Command of the Smallest Vessel that would not affect his standing in the service as he still would be at the Head of the Naval Department."

² *Ibid.*, fo. 16, Langtry to McLoughlin, May 18, 1834, "... I have the honor to inform you that I cannot take the personal command of any other Vessel (than the *Nereide*) now attached to the Columbia District on account of my not having permission to do so from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, otherwise I would be most willing to take the personal command of any vessel of the smallest tonnage."

MAY 28, 1834

been employed on. My object in wishing him to exchange the *Dryad* was that in the event of the *Nereide's* going home he would be here in the station you wish him to fill. But after all it is as well that Captain Langtry goes with the *Nereide* as if the timber trade is found worth our attention it is in it that he will be principally employed and it is with pleasure that I embrace this opportunity to assure your honors that I have found Captain Langtry most anxious to cooperate and assist to the utmost of his power, and I will be extremely happy to see him return here if he will assume the personal command of such vessel as the business requires.

I will avail myself of the first opportunity to send a vessel to the Russians with an assortment of goods &c. according to your wish, but at present our stores will not admit of it; perhaps we may be able when the *Eagle* comes.

Last winter the Indians informed us that a vessel had been wrecked somewhere about Cape Flattery and I sent a party along the coast to recover the crew from the natives but our people could not reach the place, and a few days ago I received through the Indians a letter written in Chinese characters and I have written to the captains of our vessels to do their utmost to recover those unfortunate men from the Indians. I am informed that only three of them are alive and that forty of them are either dead of disease or have been drowned. The Indians say the Vessel was loaded with China wares.

I have the pleasure to inform you that the business of this place goes on in the usual way.

I remain &c.

(signed) JOHN McLoughlin

Fort Vancouver 18th Novr. 1834¹

To The Governor Deputy Governor & Committee
of the Honble. Hudsons Bay Coy.

HONBLE. SIRS

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your dispatches of the 4th December 1833 and 1st February 1834 by the *Eagle* which arrived here on the 2^d Ultimo, but I am greatly disappointed that the Naval stores which Mr. Chief Factor Finlayson indented for from Fort George have not been sent by this vessel and it is to be regretted that the *Eagle* has not been filled with goods used in purchasing furs instead of the molasses and salt sent, as in the event of our being in want of molasses or salt we can get them in Woahoo, but it is only in England we can procure the Blankets and slops suitable to the trade and therefore when there is any spare freight the Vessel should be filled up with these articles as the amount of Interest can bear no comparison to the advantage to be derived from having these articles in the country, as it should be kept in mind that this is an encreasing trade.

2. On comparing the Outfits sent for 1835 with the requisition we sent via York we find a deficiency on several articles as pr. memo. No. 3² by which you will see there is a deficiency of 687 Blankets $3\frac{1}{2}$, 3 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ pts. which is an Outfit in this article for an inland department, and besides the two requisitions of the 30th October 1832 by the *Eagle* which are requested to be shipped in 1833 are entirely omitted; this ought not to be, as our requisitions are made out on as low a scale as possible and though it may appear strange to people at a distance yet it is nevertheless a fact that since 1825 we have been every year short of goods except in 1830 & 1831. The scarcity of the first period was caused by our requisition

¹ B. 223/b/10, fos. 33-7.

² This memo has not been traced.

being curtailed after leaving this and since that period by the trade of the coast exceeding our calculations. The coals sent this year are of a very bad quality and they should be of the best as they are required for the forge.

3. According to your directions, I will of course consign the timber and salmon we send to Woahoo to Mr. Pelly,¹ but our salmon fishery in the Columbia failed this season and we have no deals as our mill broke and we are at present building an overshot mill by which we expect to put a gang of saws in operation. But though it was necessary to take the agency of the Company at Woahoo from Mr. Charlton yet if I may be allowed to give an opinion, I am afraid it will be some time before the Companys business at that place will be sufficiently important to afford a Salary of £300 pr. annum to the agent. My intention before receiving your instructions was to send one of our Gentlemen with the first Cargo we sent there for sale and to sell it by auction or private sale, and if the timber did not sell better than it has done for the last three years to drop the business.

4. I see by the sixth paragraph of your honors dispatch of the 4th February that you have decided on sending a steam boat to this place for the trade of the coast and I can only say that situated as we are with the vessels that we have that she is not required and that the expense incurred on her and *one of the vessels sent here this year* is so much money thrown away, and though I am aware that whoever suggested sending these vessels has done so from the best motives still time will prove that they are mistaken. I have had no opportunity of ascertaining the exact cost of a steam Vessel but it seems to me she will cost more to bring here &c. and to keep her in operation than it does to sail a vessel of the same size, and that though she could go up the Inlets and Bays yet what she could get by so doing would not pay her increased expense and that she could only be required for two or three months in the year on the coast and would be laid up for the remainder of the time, but when a sailing vessel is not required on the coast she might

¹ George Pelly. See Appendix B, p. 353.

be employed in taking timber &c. to Woahoo or on a trading trip to the south.

5. The late arrival of the *Eagle* has prevented my sending her to the coast, and I am sorry to say I have no accounts from that quarter since last winter, which is the cause of my having detained the *Eagle* longer than you mentioned as I wished to send the *Dryad* to England to be repaired and as many sailors and naval officers as we can spare so as to reduce our expenses as much as possible, and to send home as usual the summer trade of the current year of the coast, Fort Langley & Nisqually.

6. As the *Lama* was not required for the coast and indeed we had no goods to outfit her, I sent her under the command of Captain McNiell to St. Francisco to trade tallow, which I am happy to say has turned out very well as your Honors will see by the accompanying account.¹

7. On the 4th Ultimo the Brig *May Dacre* arrived here from Boston and by her I had the first account of Mr. Wyeths² being on his way across the continent to this place. On the 5th he arrived here with a party of twenty men, having left the remainder of his people at a Fort³ which he built in the Snake Country at Black Foot Hill. On the Day following Captn.

¹ This account has not been traced.

² The *May Dacre*—Captain Lambert—was consigned to Wyeth.

³ Fort Hall, erected by Wyeth in the summer of 1834 on the left bank of the Snake River, a few miles above the mouth of the Portneuf River, was named in honour of Henry Hall, senior partner of Messrs. Henry Hall, Tucker & Williams, Wyeth's backers. The post was sold to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1837 when Wyeth brought his Columbian enterprises to an end. See pp. 208-9. With the influx of immigrants to Oregon and California in the forties, Fort Hall became an important stage for provisioning on the latter part of the journey. The Company continued to operate the post after the settlement of the Oregon Boundary Question in 1846 in order to maintain its possessory rights, but the trade decreased in value and Indian unrest led to its abandonment in 1856. Fort Hall was one of the posts for which the Company claimed indemnity when the British and American Joint Commission was set up under the Treaty of July 1, 1863, for the "Final Settlement of the Claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural Companies", and various descriptions of the fort will be found in the evidence given by witnesses for both sides. Cf. *The Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XLI, Louis S. Grant, "Fort Hall under the Hudson's Bay Company, 1837-1856," pp. 34-9.

Stewart,¹ two Methodist Missionaries,² and two Naturalists Messrs. Nuttall and Townsend³ also arrived. Captain Stewart is an Officer of the British army and shewed me a letter of introduction from the Right Honble. Edwd. Ellice addressed to "John Allan Esquire York, Samuel Gerrard⁴ Montreal, Governor Simpson and The Chief Factors & Chief Traders Hudsons Bay Co." and he says he intends (according to the means of conveyance he may find) to go to Canada or St. Louis on the Mississippi next spring. The Missionaries are at present in the Willamette country and settling themselves there and intend to devote their attention to the instruction of the natives and expect to be joined by some more of their country men next year. Messrs. Nuttall & Townsend go in a short time to Woahoo in the *May Dacre*. With this party came a person who calls himself Ashworth and gives out that he is the son of Sir Richard Ashworth⁵ a Lawyer on the Northern circuit, but all that Captain Stewart and the rest of the party know of him is from his own story and that they found him in the Rocky Mountains among the American trappers without being employed by any one and going for his food from one party to another which to say the least of is discreditable. When I found this out and that he had introduced himself into the Room I had given the missionaries and taken his lodgings with them (which I did not know till the

¹ Captain Sir William Drummond Stewart, Bart. See J. W. Webb (ed.), *Altowan, or Incidents of Life and Adventure in the Rocky Mountains*, by an Amateur Traveller [Sir William Drummond Stewart] (New York, 1846), 2 vols.

² The Rev. Jason Lee and his nephew, Daniel Lee, who established a mission on the Willamette River, about ten miles north of Salem, Oregon.

³ Thomas Nuttall. D. 4/102, Simpson's 1835 Report, fo. 25d., "Nuttall, a professor of natural history at the university of Cambridge in the States, likewise visited the Columbia; from thence he went to the Sandwich Islands, and will probably spend the winter at Vancouver." John K. Townsend, author of *Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains*. The narrative is printed in R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1905), Vol. XXI.

⁴ See W. S. Wallace, *Doc. Rel. to the N.W.C.*, p. 447.

⁵ The Law Lists of the period do not include a lawyer of this name.

evening when I sent for the missionaries to supper) and had followed them into our house, I allowed him take his supper at our table on account of the missionaries with whom he had obtruded himself, but as he was withdrawing and seeing that he was inclined to make himself at home, I told him that this house was not an Hotel and desired the servant to open the Doors of the Fort and let this Gentleman go out. As we could not allow him starve alongside of the Fort I have given him the same rations as to our own men, salmon and biscuit or potatoes and salmon as it occurred. I do not know what he intends to do but I am told he is desirous of going to Woahoo, and to get rid of him I will give him a passage to that place and which I mention that, in case he is what he states, and complains of not being better treated, your honors may know what I have done. As a proof that it is necessary for us to be cautious how we act with those persons who cast up here : on the 17th Octr. I had accounts that a Mr. Young and fourteen men were arrived in the Willamette with a large band of horses from San Francisco, and by the *Lama* I received a letter from the Governor of upper Calefornia, copy of which accompanys this, informing me that a Joachim Young¹ had stolen two hundred horses from the inhabitants of that settlement. Mr. Kelly² of Boston who was endeavouring to form a colonization society among his Countrymen to settle in the Willamette arrived here with Young, he is in our Hospital

¹ Ewing Young, B. 223/b/10, fo. 31, Joseph Figueroa to McLoughlin, Mission of St. Clara, September 9, 1834, "In the latter part of the month of August last a man by the name of Joachim [Ewing] Young an Anglo American accompanied by a number of other Foreigners left this country with the intention of going to the Columbia. On leaving these adventurers (forgetting the hospitality with which they were treated by the inhabitants of this territory) committed the crime of robbing upwards of two hundred head of horses belonging to various Mexican citizens. This Misdemeanor is looked upon with horror by all civilized persons as it attacks all social rights and I doubt not but that you will in case these marauders should make their appearance in your quarter take such measures as will be efficient to apprehend them and either chastise them or dispoil them of their booty. . . ." Young was later cleared of the charge. He settled in Oregon and became friends with McLoughlin.

² Hall Jackson Kelley, a Boston school-teacher, who published various pamphlets and books on Oregon.

sick of the fever and he says that the horse thieves overtook the rest of the party after they left San Francisco.

8. Captain Wyeth told me that his object in coming here was to salt salmon for the Boston market (where he says it will sell from 12 to 16\$ p. barrel) to equip some American trappers in the mountains and to farm in the Willamette, he told me that he would not interfere with our trade and as yet I believe that he has not.

9. We will be able to supply the vessel returning from here to England in 1835 with biscuit, flour, Peas and beef, I cannot yet say if we will be able to supply the pork till I see what quantity will be required for the coast, however I will be able to write more decidedly on this point by the spring Express.

10. A Japanese junk was wrecked last winter in the vicinity of Cape Flattery and out of the crew of fourteen men only three were saved and redeemed from the Indians by Captain McNeill on his voyage this Summer to Fort Langley. I might have sent them to Woahoo and left them to find a passage to their own country the best way they could, but as I believe they are the first Japanese who have been in the power of the British Nation I thought the British Government would gladly avail itself of this opportunity to endeavour to open a communication with the Japanese Government and that by these men going to Great Britain they would have an opportunity of being instructed and convey to their countrymen a respectable idea of the grandeur and power of the British nation. And even if this did not meet the views of the British Government I am certain from the well known philanthropy of the British people that Individuals will be found who will do all that can be done to provide them with the means of returning to their native country, and though it may cause the Company some expense (though I believe in such cases the expense is defrayed by Government) still I fain hope I have acted most consonant to your wishes. The Japanese entrusted the letter No. ¹ to the natives and it was forwarded from tribe to tribe till it came to us. I also send a piece of carved wood with Chinese characters on it, and if I

¹ This letter has not been traced.

understand the Japanese correctly it is the name of the vessel, that she was from Yahougari and bound to Yiddo the capital of Japan with a cargo of Rice nankeens and porcelain ware. They were first driven from their course by a Typhoon and subsequently a sea unshipped their Rudder or broke their rudder Irons, when the vessel became unmanageable, and that they were about a year from the date they left their home when they were wrecked, at which time they had plenty of Rice and water yet on board but that a sickness had broke out among the crew which carried off all except these three. A little after the Vessel grounded and before the natives could get any thing worth while out of her a storm arose and broke her up.

11. Mr. Rae¹ has applied to me for a Dft. of £46 Stg. which I have accordingly drawn on account Northern Department Bills Outfit 1835, and also one in favor of Captain William Darby² for £101 9. 5. for supplies advanced the sailors of the *Eagle* on their passage out and who remain in the country, and charged to their respective accounts, one of £6 in favor of James Starling, another of £20 in favor of Wm. Poucher, one of £5 in favor of James Bonnelly, another also of £5 in favor of John Robinson and chd. to their accounts, and one of £115. 6. 7. amount due as wages to William Ulderich, and one of £122 7. 1. due to Ephraim Hanson, the two last are the two mates whom Mr. Finlayson engaged at Woahoo and they will probably negotiate their Bills there or in the united States.

12. I have shipped some of the Tallow procured at San Francisco with the account current of the adventure, and if your Honors decide on continuing the business, it will be necessary you send us by return of the vessel the requisition herewith of goods adapted for the Calefornia market.

13. I forward Dr. Gairdners report,³ by which I am happy to say your Honors will perceive that the fever has not been so

¹ William Glen Rae. See Appendix B, pp. 353-5.

² Captain William Darby joined the Company's service in November, 1833, and was appointed to the command of the *Eagle*. He retired in 1837. See p. 160.

³ This report has not been traced.

prevalent this summer as it used to be, but it is a fact that since it first began in 1830 it so much weakened our people that it was with the greatest difficulty we got through our work.

14. It would greatly facilitate our operations that the vessel coming with the goods in 1836 was here in the latter end of march as if required we might employ her on the Coast conveying timber to Woahoo or on a voyage to the south as might Be most expedient.

15. Two of the Company's Vessels, the *Dryad* and *Vancouver*, passed the summer on the coast, and as the summer trade of that place is mostly over about the 1st September; I expected according to my arrangements with Mr. Ogden as you will see by my letter to him,¹ that long before this we would have had accounts from thence, and the absence of which I cannot account for and gives me great uneasiness. Amongst other inconveniences if the vessel from the coast does not arrive before this dispatch leaves this, a greater quantity of furs, as already mentioned, will remain in the country Vizt. the summer trade of the Coast for Outfit 1834 and that of Forts Langley & Nisqually and also part of the trade of the coast for Outfit 1833. As soon as the *Lama* is refitted, which will be in a few days, I will send her with a cargo of Supplies for the coast trade to Mill Bank Sound. In every other respect I am happy to say the business goes on in the usual way, the Salmon Fishery at Fort Langley is greater than usual, and our crop of wheat is about the same as last year, but our Barley pease & oats are less.

16. Mr. Corney² two days ago applied to me for leave to bring his wife to this country and told me that he had applied

¹ B. 223/b/10, fos. 7-7d. See Appendix A, pp. 316-17.

² A. 1/59, fos. 69d.-70, At a Committee, July 22, 1835, "Resolved that Mr. Peter Corney be appointed Chief Mate of the Barque *Columbia* and that he be allowed to take his wife and four children out in the vessel to remain in the Country; his wife to mess with him at the Captain's table, the children in the steerage and that he be charged at and after the rate for three persons say 4s. 6d. p. diem for the whole; further that they be no expence to the Company for their maintenance in the Country, it being understood that the Chief Factor in charge may engage Mrs. Corney in any capacity, for the education of the Natives or any other that she may be qualified for."

to your honors and that you had referred him to me. For my part, I see no injury to the service from the naval officers who will be kept in the employ having European wives here provided they are decent respectable women, but rather the reverse as men will have women and if they have not European wives they will have Indian ones. But if any Bring their wives they ought to be obliged to feed them themselves, which they can do by purchasing provisions from the Willamette freemen or from the Company.

17. I see the time piece received this year pr. the *Eagle* marked as stores and consigned to this place is charged £7. 10/- but we sent one to be repaired in 1830 p. the *Eagle* and which would have saved the expense of buying a new one and which I merely state as we have heard nothing of it since.

18. We will expect the requisition sent by the *Eagle* in 1832 already alluded to copy of which No. 1 I now forward¹ to be shipped from England in 1835 as we have taken it into our calculations in making our requisition and we will also require the requisition No. ¹ now sent for the Indian trade to be also shipped in 1835.

19. In reference to the requisition now sent for the California trade,¹ I beg to observe that one object in having these goods here is that a vessel could be employed in that branch of the business when not required for the coast. Grease is an article absolutely required for our business and unless we get such articles as now requested we must use other articles less adapted for to trade it.

20. The express in charge of Mr. Cowie² arrived here on the 16th ultimo and I am happy that by the accounts he brings of our friends in the interior the Companys affairs in that quarter seem to be going on in the usual way. Referring

¹ These requisitions have not been traced.

² Chief Trader Robert Cowie. According to the report in Governor Simpson's Character Book of 1832 (A. 34/2, fo. 17d.) he was a man of "Veracity and integrity" and "the most finished general man of business in his class", but he was without experience as an Indian trader and unaccustomed "to the Severe and laborious duties of the Service". See Wallace, *Doc. Rel. N.W.C.*, p. 434.

your honors for any further information to the accompanying documents

I am

Your Honors

Most Humble Obt. Servant

(signed) JOHN McLoughlin

Fort Vancouver 19th Novr. 1834¹

William Smith Esquire

SIR

I beg to inform you that on discovering the coals in the Cowlitch alluded to in their honors dispatch,² I had them examined and found they would not Burn and at this present moment Mr. Work has just returned from examining them again and we cannot find any that burn sufficiently for any purpose that we require, which I request you will mention to their honors as perhaps trusting to them they may curtail the coals in our requisitions and cause great injury to the business. I am Sir

Your Obt. Hble. Servant

(signed) JOHN McLoughlin

N.B. I have opened my letter to inform you that I send the compass the Japanese had on board the Junk lost at Cape Flattery, their honors may consider it a curiosity.
(sd.) J. McL.

¹ B. 223/b/10, fo. 38d.

² A. 6/23, fo. 62d., Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, February 1, 1834, "Mr. [Archibald] McDonald says there is Coal in the immediate neighbourhood of the spot to be establish'd at Pugets sound, it will be well to work the Mine, if it can be done with little labor or expence; as Coal is preferable to wood, for the purposes of Steam, and will render it unnecessary to get any from England, thereby saving the cost and Freight, which are matters of consideration."

Fort Vancouver 27th Novr. 1834¹

To The Governor Deputy Govr.
& Committee H.H.B.Co.

HONBLE. SIRS

The *May Dacre* Captain Lambert going to Woahoo affords me an opportunity to address you and I am sorry to inform you that I have no accounts from the coast since I wrote you pr. *Eagle*, which gives me reason to fear some misfortune has occurred in that quarter and yet it is hardly possible that both the Vessels are lost, and it seems to me if an accident has happened (& I see no other way of accounting for the non arrival from that quarter) that the Vessel on her way here has been lost. But as I am informed that two American Vessels are on the coast and they will give the news in that quarter at Woahoo you may by that channel learn more certain information of what has occurred there than is at present in my power to communicate.

I beg to embrace the present opportunity to repeat the request I made in the fourth parag. of my letter of the 18th Instant pr. *Eagle* that the Vessel coming with the goods in 1836 be here in March, but on reconsideration I see it will be necessary as we will require part of the cargo for the coast trade of 1836 and that trade begins in march. The only thing we want to carry on the coast trade with energy is goods as it requires more goods than we calculated on in 1831; at present we have not the means of outfitting it as it ought till the ship from England arrives. Of course you know if she has the means of supplying our wants and when we may expect to see her. I have the honor to be Honble. Sirs

Your mo. obt. & Humble servant

(signed) JOHN McLoughlin

¹ B. 223/b/10, fos. 39d.-40.

MARCH 14, 1835

Fort Vancouver Columbia
River 14th March 1835¹

To The Governor, Deputy Governor & Committee
of the Honble. Hudson's Bay Company.

HONBLE. SIRs,²

Copy No. 1
to Lord
Palmerston
24 Octr.
1835

On the 14th December Mr. Ogden arrived from the North West Coast and I am sorry to inform you that the Russians have prevented Mr. Ogden's forming the Establishment you directed us to build on the banks of Stikine River, and for which he had selected and marked out a situation in 1833 as you will see by the accompanying copy of the correspondence³ between Mr. Ogden and the Russian Officers, Capt. Serambo, Capt. Etoline & Baron Wrangell No. 1 @ 8 and Mr. Ogden's Journal.⁴ I will forward the originals for greater security by the way of York Factory, and I presume these Documents will fully prove that our rights have been violated by the Russian authorities.

In statement herewith⁵ is a detailed Account of the Expenses incurred in preparing and attempting &c. to erect this Establishment, and in making preparations to extend the Company's Trade according to your Instructions in the British Territory North of 54 and which expenses are now entirely lost to the Company by these unjust proceedings on the part of the Russians, and your Honors will perceive that the wages and Expenses of keeping the men are calculated up to 1836, as they are under Engagement, and I must also keep them untill I have your Honors Instructions which cannot

¹ A. 11/50. There is no copy of this letter in the B. 223/b series.

² Only the part indicated by the marginal ruling was sent to Lord Palmerston. The marginal ruling is in the original.

³ B. 223/c/1, fos. 30d.-34.

⁴ A. 11/50, entitled "P.S. Ogden's Report of transactions at Stikine 1834". See Appendix A, pp. 317-22. Cf. *B.C. Hist. Quar.* V, D. C. Davidson, "Hudson's Bay and Russian American Relations", pp. 40-6.

⁵ A. 11/50.

reach me before that time, and that I have limited myself entirely to charge only those, with which we are acquainted here, and that there are other expenses which you are making in England for the purpose of extending the Trade (for instance the Steam Boat mentioned in my last) which will be entirely lost if we are deprived of the right of extending the Trade to the British Territory North of 54.

There are also other losses of which it is impossible to form an accurate estimate, such as the loss caused by my detaining the *Eagle*, last fall later than you directed, in consequence of the non-arrival of intelligence (as I already reported) from the Coast, as Mr. Ogden would not leave it till he had seen Baron Wrangell the Governor of the Russian Settlements on the N.W. Coast, so as to avoid every misapprehension on the point in question.

The injury suffered by the derangement of the Plans for extending the Trade to the Territory in question is very great, our being excluded from it, while the Russians reap all the advantage from it, as you may depend that all the Land furs traded at Stikine and three fourths of those collected by the American Coasters and us come from the British Territory North of 54. And last but not least is the loss of character we suffer in the eyes of the Indians by being prevented by the Russians from erecting the Establishment at Stikine which we had told them in 1832 & 1833 that we would do so; and though the Company suffers the injury, still it affects the National respectability in the eyes of these savages as they (without our giving them the least cause for it) consider us as identified with our Government, this supposition of theirs I believe proceeds from the first British Vessel they saw being Captn. Vancouver, the celebrated Navigator, and all the British Vessels they have seen since, they consider them as Government Vessels: and your Honors may depend that it will now require double the number of men (to establish Stikine) that Mr. Ogden had, & though I am well aware that your Honors do not require an Estimate of this kind from me or such details, still as I am on the spot I consider it but right that I should point them out. | The *Dryad* will return from

the Islands with the Salt which Mr. Pelly omitted to send p. the *Eagle*, and if the Timber does not offer a sufficient inducement to keep her in the Country and to employ her in that branch of business, she will in this case on her return be sent to England.¹

I am Honble. Sirs

Your Obedient

Humble Servant

JOHN McLOUGHLIN

Since the departure of the *Eagle* I was informed that Mr. Handly who came in her had told Captn. McNeill, that Mr. Corney had tapped a Keg of bright Varnish part of the Cargo of the *Eagle* consigned to this place. I enquired of him if it was so, and he told me it was so, that he had done it himself by order of Mr. Corney. I requested him to give me a statement of this in writing, which he refused and I immediately put him of duty; this occurred 10th December 1834, he now goes to Woahoo as a passenger and if he finds means of going home from hence he will go, but if he does not Captn. Kipling will bring him back, & we will send him by the first Vessel. It was not the value of the Varnish (though the half of it was taken and we have not what we require for the Vessels here) but as your Honors will perceive what makes me so particular in this instance is to prevent any other in future committing such an impropriety as tapping any Barrels belonging to the Cargo. A Cask of Brandy for this place was expended on board the *Eagle*, the excuse given by Mr. Corney was that he thought it was part of the Ship's Stores, and I said no more about it. But as you see by the accounts gone home charged it to the *Eagle*.

J. McL.

¹ A version of the whole letter (including the last paragraph) with the exception of the postscript is printed in *Alaskan Boundary Tribunal, Appendix to the Case of the United States*, pp. 272-3. The letter, however, is wrongly dated March 17, 1835.

Fort Vancouver 30th *Sepr.* 1835¹

To The Govr. Depty. Govr. & Committee
of the Hudson's Bay Compy.

HONBLE. SIRs,

1. I received your Dispatch of the 10th Decr., per *Ganymede*, which reached this place, on the 30th July, and I am sorry to inform you delivered her cargo in a damaged condition as you will see by the accompanying account.² But the loss the trade will suffer from the want of Goods cannot be easily ascertained.

2. In regard to your 7th Paragraph, I beg to observe, that I see nothing in the Deed Poll that deprives me of the Right of investing my means in any business I think proper, except in trading directly or indirectly with the Indians; and forming a hide & tallow Company³ is certainly distinct from the fur Trade, and I think, if the Hudsons Bay Company enter on

¹ B. 223/b/11, fos. 35d.-39.

² This account has not been traced.

³ D. 4/100, fos. 22d.-23d., Simpson to the Governor and Committee, August 27, 1834, "...several Gentlemen in the service appear disposed to form a Joint stock Association, for the purpose of rearing cattle on the banks of the Wilhamet, with a view to establish a branch of export trade to England and other countries, in the articles of tallow hides & horns, and in provisions for the South American and Sandwich Island markets. . . . I therefore beg leave strongly to recommend that cattle rearing on a large scale on the banks of the Wilhamet, on the Cowlitz Portage, or elsewhere, as may be found suitable for the purpose . . . be established by the Honble. Company, as a branch of the Fur Trade . . . it appears to me to hold out the prospect of becoming an extended and highly profitable branch of trade, if taken up by the Company, but in the hands of a Joint Stock Association, or Individuals, I am decidedly of opinion it would not be found to answer." A. 6/23, fos. 100-100d., Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, December 10, 1834, par. 7, "Governor Simpson has communicated to us a prospectus for forming an Association of Gentlemen in the Service of the Company, for the purpose of establishing a Trade in Cattle, Tallow, Hides and Provisions. We can not however sanction such an arrangement as we think it would be detrimental, if not dangerous to the Fur Trade, were such an establishment, formed by Individuals and conducted as a separate concern : Besides we consider that the Fur Trade, has a right to the best exertions, and to the undivided time and

that business, that no commissioned Gentleman can be obliged to join it, unless they please, as if a hide & tallow company is formed, with the present constitution of the concern, the present Factors and Traders will incur the expense of making a business, while the profits of it will go to others. To obviate such injustice, I suggested to form a joint Stock company, in which every one might suscribe, as much as he thought proper, and to keep it perfectly distinct from the Fur Trade. As for my part, I cannot afford to carry it on for the Fur Trade, and give 99/100 of my labour to others, and in wishing others to join in the business, I was merely influenced by motives of kindness towards persons with whom I am connected in trade, as I can, whenever I please, command all the capital required for that business and raising sheep.

3. I have been to examine Nisqually Fort and the Head of Puget's Sound, the soil at both places is poor for tillage, but there is pasturage for an immense number of cattle. When I planned this voyage, according to the Instructions I received from Governor Simpson and the Council, at York, I intended

attention of every Chief Factor and Chief Trader as well as Clerk & Servant while the Party may be actively engaged in the Fur trade, and that they must not engage in any Concern, which may injure or interfere with its Interests during the period they may enjoy the benefits of a retired share. We cannot therefore permit any Person, to engage in this project while connected with the Company, or allow any assistance or encouragement to be given to others not in the Service, who may attempt such a measure. . . . Mr. Simpson seems to think it might be profitable if carried on by the Fur trade, with all the Protection and facilities, which might be easily supplied by the Company's establishments. We shall therefore communicate further with Mr. Simpson on this subject, and after consulting the Council, he will communicate the result to you or the officer in charge of the Columbia : in the meantime we send Dollars to the value of £300 which would be required to assist in the purchase of Cattle, and you can wait the instructions of Mr. Simpson respecting the disposal of this sum : We think the attempt should be made if done at all on the North side of the River Columbia, and we wish some Person capable of judging Soils, Timber, Convenience for shipping &c. &c. to examine Whitby Island, the head of Puget's sound, and any other place which may have been thought of, in order that the Spot which may combine most of the advantages of good Harbour and shipping Place, good soil and Climate, healthy situation and open Pasture ground may be selected." The Puget's Sound Agricultural Society Limited was the outcome of McLoughlin's idea.

as directed to have examined Whidbey's Island, but when I came to execute any plan, I found that I could not be so long absent from this place, as several persons were sick, and Dr. Gairdner was gone to Walla Walla, to try the effect a change of air would have on a spitting of blood, with which he was attacked, and though he derived some benefit from his voyage to the Interior; yet, I am sorry to say, that since his return his disease has become worse, and he now proceeds to Woohoo in the hope that the mild climate of that place will be beneficial to him.

4. As to the Steam Boat for the coast, you have decided, and it is useless to say more about the business, and I will only repeat what I wrote to Your Honors in the fourth paragraph of mine of the 18th Novr. 1834—That she is not required and that the expense incurred on her, and one of the vessels sent this year, is so much money thrown away.

5. It was my intention, when I addressed Your Honors by the *Nereide*, Captain Langtry, to have sent home the *Dryad* last fall, and to have only Kept the *Lama*, and one of the Schooners in in employ, but on receiving intelligence that the *Gany-mede* was gone to Moose, I was afraid she would leave England too late, to bring us Salt in time for our Fishery, which Mr. Pelly omitted to forward by the *Eagle* (as you had directed him) in consequence of Mr. Charlton informing him, that we had a large quantity on hand. I was therefore obliged to send the *Dryad* to Woohoo for Salt, and she now proceeds with the Furs to England; on her way, she will deliver the Salmon as per Invoice at Woohoo, & Captn. Kipling is directed to take only such freight as may not be injurious to furs, and is ready for him, and that from Woohoo he will proceed direct to England as you will see by his Instructions.

6. My first intention was to have also sent the *Ganymede* home. But on reflecting that we had a quantity of deals on hand, which will be lost unless we send them to a market, and though they sell very badly at Woohoo, still they will pay the expense of the vessel, I decided on keeping her, for this year, and if it is found next summer that the wood will not Pay, she will be sent home.

7. Captain Ryan goes home in the *Dryad*, on his arrival here, he got the command of the *Cadbro'*, and has been allowed the wages he formerly had when he commanded the *Vancouver*. On appointing Captain Ryan to the *Cadbro'* I followed the rule I have adopted in promoting Mates under Engagements to a Captaincy, and increased his pay two Guineas a month. Last fall, on examining his account, he said, I had promised him his former wages, but as I had no recollection of it, I did not do it. But on considering the subject some days ago, it seems to me, that the rule I have laid down for Mates on assuming their first command on the coast could not apply to him, and that Captain Ryan on getting the command of *Cadbro'*, ought to have been considered, as a man reassuming a former command, and entitled to the same wages as he formerly had; and which Capns. Kipling & Duncan had at that time, and which, on referring to the 6th Paragraph of Yours of the 12th Sepr. 1832, seems to me to have been your wish. Since the *Cadbro'* was laid up, last summer, Captain Ryan was also at first credited (on the *Cadbro'* being laid up) wages as first mate, but on consideration, I think him entitled to those of Captain, as I kept him in case, I would require him to command either the *Lama* or *Vancouver*, but whether he is entitled to any pay on his passage home, rests of course with your Honors to decide. Captain Ryan is a good Sailor, a sober man, and careful of the vessel and property entrusted to his charge.

8. Captain Duncan also goes home, I have already had the pleasure to inform Your Honors, that Captain Duncan's conduct while here has obtained for him the approbation of all those under whose orders he has been Placed. By his Engagement he is entitled to pay till his arrival in England.

9. My first intention, as I already mentioned was to have sent the *Ganymede* home, and kept Captain Eales¹ to command the *Cadbro'*, but on proposing to Captain Eales to exchange to the *Cadbro'*, he objected, and said that he understood in England that he was to command the *Ganymede*, and

¹ William Eales. See Appendix B, p. 344.

rather than go in the *Cadbro'*, he would go home. We have not his Engagement, and it ought to have come with him, besides by his Instructions he is placed (and Captain Darby of the *Eagle* was also) under Captain Langtry, this plan of placing the Captains of vessels under the immediate command of the Superintendant will injure the business. The captains of vessels ought to be under the immediate command of the Officer in charge of the Department.

10. I informed your Honors last fall of the arrival of Mr. Wyeth across land, and meeting here a vessel the *May Dacre* consigned to him. On his arrival he offered provided I would not put obstacles in the way of his Salting Salmon, and buying a few Horses, that he would not interfere with our trade, nor allow any of his people to do so to which I agreed, and I believe Captain Wyeth has most honourably Kept his word.

I understand, Captain Wyeth has only Salted about 300 Tierces of Salmon, but this is so much less and they cost so much more than he expected, that I am told by some, that he is going to drop the business.

By others again, I am informed, that he intends to get his supplies brought from England to Woohoo by Whalers, and hire a vessel to bring them here, and to take away what he may have, and thus reduce his shipping expences to one fourth of what the *May Dacre* costs them; at present he is ill of the fever, when he recovers, I understand, he starts to go to winter in his Fort at the Snake Falls, which he built on his way here, and where I understand he intends to keep a store to supply the trappers in the Mountains. He traded there last year, about six hundred Beavers.

11. Last year on seeing Major Bonneville¹ come to Walla Walla, and Mr. Christie of the American Rocky Mountain Company come here to purchase Goods, I sent Mr. McKay with a small party and an Outfit of Goods to go to the American Rendezvous, but he did not reach it, till the parties had left it,

¹ Captain Benjamin L. E. Bonneville of the United States Army, who first appeared as a principal in the fur trade at the rendezvous of 1832. See W. Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A.* (New York, 1849).

but he saw them in the winter. I send you the account¹ of that Outfit, made out under one view, that you may at once see the result, but this A/c in our Books will belong to two separate Outfits (as part of the Returns, came in after the account for 1834 was closed) and the Furs are accordingly shipped separately.

12. Mr. McKay passed the winter in the vicinity of Mr. Wyeths Fort, and will also pass the winter thereabouts this year. He is supplied with a small outfit for trade, and a few men to trap.

13. Mr. Francis Ermatinger went across from the Flat Heads to the American Rendezvous, and got paid the advances he had made last year to Mr. Faries² of the American party. On his return three of his party were killed, and he and the rest had a most narrow escape. Mr. Ermatinger reports that the people from St. Louis were not yet arrived at the Rendezvous, but they were nigh, and that there were five missionaries on their way to join the two already here.

14. I forward your Honors a copy of the letter³ I received from Mr. Charlton on the subject of his account, with my answer⁴ and the notes on the subject to Mr. Pelly.

15. I forward a copy of my letter⁵ &c. to Mr. Pelly, there is a great difference between our A/c of the *Dryad's* last cargo to woohoo, and Mr. Pelly's account for it at Woohoo. I forward you Captain Kiplings receipts,⁶ and my correspondence with him⁷ about the deficiency.

¹ This account has not been traced.

² Warren Angus Ferris, an employee of the Western Department of the American Fur Company from the beginning of 1830 until the autumn of 1835, first as trader and trapper and later as clerk. Cf. P. C. Phillips (ed.), *Life in the Rocky Mountains, a Diary of Wanderings on the Sources of the Rivers Missouri, Columbia, and Colorado from February, 1830 to November, 1835 by W. A. Ferris* (Denver, Colorado, 1940).

³ B. 223/b/11, fos. 61-61d.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fos. 31d.-33.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fos. 33d.-35d.

⁶ These receipts have not been traced.

⁷ B. 223/b/11, fos. 26d.-28d.

16. The crops this year will yield about

4000	Bushels	Wheat,
1500	„	Pease,
1200	„	Barley,
1000	„	Oats.

Our crops suffered greatly from the drought. We will only have about one third the usual quantity of potatoes.

17. We can supply the annual Vessel with the pease and Biscuit she may require, but we can at present only supply the Beef and Pork for our own Establishments. There is a weed in our plains, which poisons a great number of our Pigs but it will get extirpated.

18. I forward a Requisition¹ to replace such damaged articles as we require.

19. As I do not know, what number of vessels you intend should be here, I cannot make out the Requisition for Naval Stores, but I forward an exact Inventory¹ of what we have; from this, and the Invoice of the Stores on the way, it will be easy to ascertain the Stores required. But the rope in our requisition with the Goods must not be interfered with, as has been with the rope expected this year, which has been curtailed, and if Mr. Pelly had not sent us some of the size we want, to replace what he took of the *Eagle's* cargo, we would have no lines for our Boats going to the Interior next year.

I am, Honble. Sirs, &c. &c.

(Signed) JNO. McLOUGHLIN

Fort Vancouver 4th April 1836²

To Wm. Smith Esquire
Secretary Hudsons Bay House

SIR

In the Requisition now sent there is a demand for two reaping machines. In the Encyclopedia of Agriculture there

¹ These documents have not been traced.

² B. 223/b/15, fo. 7.

APRIL 9, 1836

is an account that two such machines were brought into operation in Fifeshire, and found to be a great saving of labour, I wish you would have the goodness to cause enquiries to be made and if they are as represented let them be sent, they are said to cost only £30; even if they cost £50 each it is no object in comparison with the advantage we would derive from having them to cut down our crop.

I am Sir

Your mo. Obt. Humble servant

(signed) JOHN McLoughlin

N.B. Some of the wood part might be (if bulky) dispensed with if we had the Plan.

(signed) J. McL.

Fort Vancouver 9th April 1836¹

To The Governor Deputy Governor & Committee
of The Honble. Hudsons Bay Coy.

HONBLE. SIRS

I beg to inform you of the safe arrival of the *Beaver*² in the Columbia on 19th March and *Columbia*³ on 22d same.

2. In reply to your Honors remark alluding to me in the 3d Parh. of your letter of 28th August '35 received by *Columbia* and *Beaver*—"Your individual opinion with respect to an energetic opposition to the American traders on the Coast

¹ B. 223/b/15, fos. 10-12.

² See *B.C. Hist. Quar.*, II, W. Kaye Lamb, "The Advent of the *Beaver*", pp. 163-84; and C. W. McCain, *History of the S.S. Beaver* (Vancouver, B.C., 1894).

³ The barque *Columbia* of 288 64/94 tons, built for the Company by Messrs. Green, Wigrams & Green of Blackwall, was launched on July 8, 1835. With Captain William Darby in command, she sailed from Gravesend for Columbia River on August 29, 1835, in company with the steamship *Beaver*. Her logs for 1835-50 (C. 1/243-54) are in the Company's archives.

and the means of carrying it into effect is not in accordance with that of Governor Simpson and the Northern Council¹ and assented to by us," I know of no difference of opinion in regard to carrying on the opposition with energy, except that I consider the same object may be accomplished without incurring the expence of purchasing a steam Boat as expressed in the 3d Parh. of my letter of 31st August '33 addressed to Your honors (see note No. 1)² and the only reason why I differ from you and the Northern Council is that it seems to me certain that only with one Vessel with the Establishment we have on the Coast and the high price paid for Furs that any Vessels which come from the states to trade on it, must lose money and as they are mere adventurers they will not and indeed cannot afford to carry on a losing business. In short that our policy ought to be to collect a sufficiency of Furs to make our opponents lose money; as to attempt to prevent their getting any Furs would be to spoil the trade still more and not answer the purpose more effectually, as these men are bound by their instructions to remain a certain time on the Coast, and these instructions they must follow, and this is a certain and at the same time the cheapest way to obtain the trade on the Coast that I know of and this is not an opinion of today, I beg to refer you to the 53d Parh. of my letter to

¹ A. 6/23, fos. 138d.-139. The paragraph continues: "We can have no objection to the most unreserved expression of your sentiments upon every subject connected with the trade, but when any measure has been decided on, unless there is a cordial co-operation in all concerned, the best plans may fail. In the General Dispatch from York Factory, under date 10th Augt. 1832 from Governor Simpson treating on the affairs of the Columbia . . . the importance of getting possession of the Coast trade is strongly enforced. . . . The Shipping are described in that Dispatch as inadequate to the duties required of them, the loss of two Vessels are represented as the causes alone to which can be ascribed the slow progress made in the Coasting trade, an object again stated which had long riveted their attention. A Steam Boat was recommended to be procured and sent immediately. We at first felt objections to this plan and did not assent to it till further urged in the following year in the 38 par. Genl. Letter 30th Novr. 1833. . . . We still have our doubts, whether the scheme will succeed, as much will depend on those who have the conducting the experiment, but we have done all in our power to give effect to the measure. . . ."

² See pp. 110-11 for the relevant paragraph.

your Honors of 6th Octr. '25¹ and in making my remarks of 31st August '33, I consider I was giving reasons why the measure appeared to me unnecessary, and was not putting obstacles into the way of its being carried into effect when decided on.

3. As to our falling short of Goods in '33 it arose from the Furs on the coast costing higher than we calculated, and from our having the coast to ourselves we collected more furs than we expected when the Requisition was made, the interest is so heavy that we always endeavour to make our requisition as low as possible.

4. As to the *Nereide* she was sent home because she was not required, having more Vessels than we could employ—it was my intention to have sent home the *Dryad* also that fall and to have substituted the *eagle* in her stead, if allowed so to do, and if not, the *Lama Vancouver* and *Cadboro* then disposable might be considered sufficient for the prosecution of our business on the coast, and I feel convinced that these Vessels were equal to the duties required of them in that branch of business, for

¹ See p. 18. The part quoted by McLoughlin from his letter of October 6, 1825, was: "as I consider our object ought to be if there is a Strong Opposition on the Coast as this Year to allow them exhaust themselves; as they have only this market for their Goods, they will sell for what they can get while having an Extensive Inland trade we would be certain of disposing of Ours and would be always ready to take every advantage in the Market." B. 223/b/15, fos. 12-12d., Remark by McLoughlin on the foregoing extract: "But this Plan has not been followed as when I wrote this I calculated we would have the Outfit a year in advance, as we ought, and as we have at present but from 1825 @ '31 we were dependant on the annual Vessel for the Outfit of the year, and besides this the additional requisition for Outfit '26 sent from this in '25 was entirely curtailed in England which I did not know till '27, after the express left this for York. Add to this the loss of the *Wm. & Ann* in '29, Domonis coming the same year in opposition and causing a greater expenditure of goods than we calculated when we made the requisition of '29. These causes united deprived us of the means of entering on the coast trade till Fall '30, and the intermittent fever breaking out among us that summer prevented our being able to establish on the coast till spring '31. That year & '32 we had opposition in '33 we had the coast to ourselves, and found that there were more Furs and that they cost dearer than we calculated in consequence Outfit '34 which I sent there in '33 was expended that year and made us short of goods for '34 in which we had opposition as also in '35 but we had enough of Goods."

although our Naval Officers, Captains Langtry Kipling and McNeill, with the carpenters of their respective Vessels had condemned the *Cadboro* as not sea worthy, I felt convinced that she was sound, I did not then press the subject further, as it might occasion a mutiny, but by the report of Williams the Carpenter of the *Eagle* who examined her very carefully, she was pronounced perfectly fit for any voyage to which it might be necessary to send her, the correctness of whose report may be judged by her being afloat since Spring '35 and is so tight that they are obliged to put water in her to pump her, so as to keep her sweet, and the reason I did not send the *Dryad* home fall '34, is that the *Vancouver* was lost, the *Cadboro* as just stated condemned, and Mr. Pellys not having sent us salt from the Islands in consequence of Mr. Charlton telling him we did not require it which was incorrect; I had to send the *Dryad* for it, and if we had exchanged the *Dryad* for the *Eagle* fall '34 we would have sold off the *Lama*,¹ and I beg to observe when these plans were laid down, the *Nereide* was sent to the south with timber &c. that if we found sale for timber there we might if we found employment for her keep her since she was sent out to us and if we found no employment for her send her home at once.

5. As to our vessels we are fully convinced that four Vessels are quite sufficient for all our business in this quarter, say two for transport between this and England, the *Columbia* and *Ganymede*, although the *Ganymede* is not such a Vessel as we would wish as she brought her cargo here twice much damaged, the Captain says it is owing to her Poop, still if this could be remedied, from her size she is more suitable than the *Eagle* or *Nereide* to the business between this and England, and two the Steamer & *Dryad* for the Coasting

¹ A. 6/23, fos. 152d.-153, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, December 8, 1835, "The *Lama* altho' a useful vessel when purchased is now too small for our trade, and nearly worn out, and being a foreign bottom, she cannot be sent to this Country, and it is not creditable, nor perhaps strictly legal, that the Company as British Merchants, should own and employ her, even on the North West Coast, so that we think it would be preferable either to sell her for anything near about her value, or break her up when in need of a thoro' repair, than incur heavy expences in that way."

Trade, thereby dispensing with the *Eagle* and *Nereide* to be sold in England and *Lama* and *Cadboro* to be sold either at Sitka, Woahoo or California. We cannot however dispose of the *Lama* till we have the *Dryad* to replace her or some vessel equally suitable for the trade of the Coast to supply the place of the steamer if required, and for an occasional trip to England, and for stowage of a pretty large cargo for any port in the Pacific when it may be found necessary to send her; the *Dryad* combines all these advantages and is therefore the best adapted for our business, but if she is sold off, it is unnecessary to purchase a vessel to replace her, or even to send her here till you hear from me by the *Columbia* and inform you how the Steamer is found to answer.

6. We have no accounts of Mr. Pellys having sold any timber since last fall—whence I infer that it is not much in demand at present at Wahoo, the *Ganymede* therefore will proceed with her cargo to Valparaiso, which I will consign to Mr. Budge and desire him to sell and remit the proceeds to your honors, and if he finds freight for the *Ganymede* to load and send her to England, but on no a/c to detain her longer than a month or five weeks from the day of her arrival to her departure.

7. As I stated in my letter to Governor Simpson, the Steam Boat will have a trial on the Coast—Mr. Finlayson will if Possible pay a visit to the Russians, and some one will be trading to St. Francisco, and the *Columbia* as soon as she has unloaded her cargo will take in a cargo of Deals to Woahoo, on her return I suppose the Vessels will be arrived from the Coast, and whither she proceeds direct from here to London, or touches at Woahoo to land Deals will depend on the accounts we have from Mr. Pelly of the demand for lumber.

I observe your honors are desirous to see me if I took advantage of my furlough, but as I do not do so I will not have it in my power to afford myself that pleasure and which I much regret. I am

Your honors

Most obt. Servant

(signed) JOHN McLOUGHLIN

Fort Vancouver *5th May*, 1836¹

To The Govr. Deputy Govr. & Committee
of the Honble. Hudsons Bay Co.

HONBLE. SIRs

Mr. Wyeth after some previous conversations submitted to me the accompanying proposal² for carrying on business to the South and South East of the snake Country towards Santa Fea, I think so highly of it that I conceive I cannot do better than request him to forward it to your Honors on his arrival at Boston for your Sanction and approbation. Some objection will probably be started to Mr. Wyeths plans, but such, if any, are trifling, when placed in comparison with the advantages likely to result from it. I am indeed sanguine enough to think, that a branch of business may be established in that large tract of Country above alluded to which would give a new feature to our operations in the Snake Country, guard the borders thereof from the encroachments of opposition, and be very beneficial to the concern: and in support of this I have the unanimous opinion and concurrence of all the commissioned Gentlemen now here Vizt. Messrs. Finlayson, McLeod³ and Douglas. Should you be disposed to meet Mr. Wyeths Views you will please advertise him thereof with as little delay as possible so that he may set about the prosecution of his plans, and be enabled to return to take possession of the field before it is preoccupied by some of his country men.

I am

Honble. Sirs

Your Obt. Hble. servant

(signed) JOHN McLoughlin

¹ B. 223/b/15, fos. 16d.-17.

² B. 223/b/12, fos. 33-4. See Appendix A, pp. 340-2.

³ John McLeod, Jnr. See *H.B.S.*, I, 455.

Fort Vancouver 17 June 1836¹

To The Governor, Deputy Governor & Committee
of the Hon. H. Bay Co.

HONBLE. SIRS

As mine to your Honors of 3d May last² had to pass through the hands of strangers, I did not consider it prudent to state the reasons which induced me to recommend Mr. Wyeth's proposals to your favorable consideration. And it is, that as he is fully determined to prosecute the Fur Trade in the Snake Country and places adjacent, I consider it far more advantageous to the Company to assist him to do business in a part of the Country where we cannot. Thus get rid of his interference with us in the Snake Country, derive some advantage from the Sale of our Goods and the purchase of his furs, than by rejecting his proposals to force him to seek support elsewhere, which if he got might bring an opposition into the Country. And I consider that the Tenure which the Company have of the South side of the Columbia is of that precarious nature, that we are certain of being deprived of it when a Boundary line is run between the British and American Government, and that it is the interest of the Company to make all they can out of it while it is in our power. I forward you a Copy of Mr. Wyeth's letter³ and of mine to you of 5th May. On the 7 May Mr. Chief Trader McLeod left this with an Outfit and party of people for the Snake Country.

The Steamer *Beaver* leaves this to morrow with Mr. Chief Factor Finlayson for the North West Coast, she has been a long time in getting ready though she had all the Carpenters and every assistance this place afforded, as also the Carpenter of the *Columbia*. The business of the place goes on in the usual way, this will be handed you by Mr. Chief Trader Cowie who left this with the Accounts this Spring for York

¹ B. 223/b/12, fos. 32-32d.

² 5th May. The letter is printed above.

³ Cf. p. 149, n. 2.

Factory, but finding himself too ill to proceed remained at Colville.

I am Honble. Sirs

Yr. Ob. Sert.

(signed) JOHN McLoughlin

Fort Vancouver 15th November 1836¹

To The Governor Deputy Governor & Committee
of The Honble. Hudsons Bay Company

HONBLE. SIRS

I did myself the pleasure to inform you in mine of 9th April last of the safe arrival of the *Columbia* & *Beaver*, and I have the satisfaction now to add that the *Columbia* delivered her Cargo in excellent condition.

2. In mine of 4th April to Governor Simpson (so as to be more speedily communicated to you & Copy of which I now forward)² I did myself the pleasure to explain to you my reasons, why as you state in the 3rd paragraph of your Dispatch of 28 August 1835, alluding to me "That your individual opinion with respect to an energetic opposition to the Americans trading on the Coast, and the means of carrying it into effect, not being in accordance with that of Governor Simpson and the Northern Council, and assented to by us", and also how it happened that we were short of Goods in 1834, and altho I gave the *Beaver* every assistance the place afforded and detained the *Columbia* some days to allow the *Beaver* the use of the *Columbia's* Carpenter, yet the *Beaver* did not sail from this before the 17 June, and before sailing Capt. Home called on me to know if I would recommend him to your Honors for a Chief Tradership as Capt. Langtry held. I told him I was extremely sorry to say that I felt I could not do this, but that he would be allowed fifteen pounds p. Month; he

¹ B. 223/b/12, fos. 2-11.

² B. 223/b/12, fos. 28-30.

then asked me if I would state to your Honors that if the Chief Tradership was not allowed him, he would not remain in the Service and which I promised him accordingly to do. We have not Capt. Homes Engagement and no man ought to come here without one. I have great pleasure in stating that I consider him a steady good Officer fit for any command in our Navy, but we do not require a person for the office of Commander in Chief, as he can never be where the other Vessels would be and it would be merely giving a title to a person to give him claims when the duty would be performed as it has been heretofore by the person in charge of this place.

3. On the 15 June the *Columbia* sailed for Woahoo with a Cargo of 160 M. feet Deals &c. and on arriving there Mr. Cowie found the Cargoes sent p. *Ganymede* and *Dryad* sold as p. accompanying account,¹ and your Honors will see that I direct Mr. Pelly to remit the proceeds to England.

4. On the 3d June the Brigade arrived from the Interior and started on their return to their Winter quarters on the 25th.

5. On the 8th September Chief Trader John McLeod returned from the Snake Country; as I already informed you he left this on the 7th May and after delivering an Outfit to Mr. McKay, he proceeded with an outfit in company with Mr. McKay to the American Rendezvous² where he saw all

¹ B. 223/b/12, fo. 41, "Account Sales at Woahoo p. George Pelly of the Cargoes of the *Ganymede* & *Dryad* consigned to him October 1835,"

p. *Ganymede*

p. *Dryad*

	cts.			
5,041 feet Boards	4½	226·84	252 Barrels Salmon	6\$ 1,512
116,801 „ Do.	4	4,672·04	115 Half „ Do.	3 345
			12 Kegs Butter 900 lb. 25 cts.	225
		<u>4,898·88</u>		<u>2,082</u>

² See *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXVIII, T. C. Elliott, "From Rendezvous to the Columbia", p. 356, "Rendezvous in 1836 was held in the large triangle where Horse Creek flows from the northwest into Green River in western Wyoming; the town of Daniel in that state now marks the general location." In a footnote the author explains that the general location is "Seventy-five miles by air north of Green River on Union Pacific Railroad; 90 miles by highway northeast of Kemmerer, Wyoming". Cf. *ibid.*, XLII, C. P. Russell, "Wilderness Rendezvous Period of the American Fur Trade", pp. 33-7 for "The Twelfth Rendezvous (1836)—Horse Creek, on Green River".

the American Trappers and though he did very little business with them, still he fully accomplished the object I had in view in sending him there.

6. I send you a Copy of my instructions to Mr. McLeod¹: next year if we can, we will send there again. Mr. McLeod met the Revd. Mr. Spalding, Dr. Whitman and Mr. Gray Missionaries who came from the States to establish themselves in the Nezperces Country²; Dr. Whitman is settling himself about 25 Miles South of Walla Walla & the Revd. Mr. Spalding is going to build about a hundred Miles South of Dr. Whitman, these are the Gentlemen for whom the Rev. Mr. S. Parker selected the Stations I mentioned in 12th Paragraph of mine of 18th March last to Governor Simpson.³ Mr. McLeod brought down Mr. McKays returns, I send you the Account⁴ by which you will see that Outfit cleared £411.2/6 and which considering the strong opposition it had to contend with is very well.

7. On the 6th September the *Nereide* arrived here and delivered her Cargo in excellent condition; though you mentioned in your Despatch of 28 August 1835 p. the

¹ B. 223/b/12, fos. 30d.-31d.

² See C. M. Drury, *Henry Harmon Spalding* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1936), and C. M. Drury, *Marcus Whitman, M.D., Pioneer and Martyr* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1937).

³ Neither the original nor the copy of this letter has been traced.

⁴ B. 223/b/12, fo. 40, "Account Current McKay's Party Out. 1835.

Dr.				Cr.			
To Inventory	135	8	2	By Inventory	105	13	8
" Furs overcredited	56		2	" Servants Book Debts	45		
" Ft. Vancouver Depot				" Returns Vizt.			
Supplies	482	3	7	971 Large Beaver	30/6	1480	15 6
" Sale Shop do.	23	7	8	393 Small do.	13/6	265	5 6
" Indian Trade do.		9	10	1 Brown Bear			14
" Fort Colville do.	9	2		11 Cross Foxes	12/4	6	15 8
" Fort Nezperces do.	166	6		45 Wolves	10/-	22	10
" Sundries paid N. Wyeth	61	15	5	74 Otters	16/4	60	8 8
" Trappers Sundry Credits	49			5 Linxes	9/6	2	7 6
" Servants Wages	625	10		2 Martens	7/9		15 6
			1609 2 10	304 Muskrats	10d.	12	13 4
				13 lb. Castorum	16/3	10	11 3
				10 Fishers	4/4	2	3 4
				6 Badgers	9d.		4 6
				1 Redfox			4 6
				6 lbs. Coating	12/3	3	13 6
				1 Mink			2 11
				2 Racoons	3/-		6
						1869	11 8
To Profit & Loss Gain			411 2 6				
			£2020 5 4				£2020 5 4"

Columbia that you would probably send her, yet I did not expect her as we have as many Vessels as we want, and the reason we did not wish to employ her on the Coast is that she draws so much water she cannot ascend Frasers River to Fort Langley, and is so sharp, that if she should ground, she would lay almost on her beam ends; and if this was to happen on the North West Coast, it would expose her to be taken by the Natives and her Crew to be butchered, and besides she carries a very small Cargo to be sent to Woahoo or to the South with wood.

8. In reply to the 10th Paragraph of yours of 8th December 1835¹ The Soil about Nisqually and Pugets Sound is unfit for tillage; I have not seen Whidbeys Island but those who have say it has a fine Harbor and excellent Soil, but none can

¹ A. 6/23, fos. 154-154d., Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, December 8, 1835, par. 10, "We have again to draw your attention to the object of removing your Principal Depot from the Columbia River to the Coast, say to Whidby's Island, Pugets Sound, or some other eligible situation, easy of access, as we consider the danger of crossing the Columbia Bar too great a risk to be run by the Annual Ships from and to England, with the Outfits and returns. Fort Vancouver must of course always be kept up as a large establishment, as it is, to it we must trust mainly for provisioning the whole Coasting business both afloat and on shore; it is from there likewise the Timber shipments must be made, unless a situation combining the advantages of easy access, a water power, facility of Shipment, and a safe harbour, could be found, within a convenient distance of the Depot to be formed on the Coast, in which case it would be better to carry it from thence: & Fort Vancouver must always be maintained as a Depot for the Columbia Interior post and trapping expeditions likewise for New Caledonia: but we are desirous that the Ship from England should go into the Columbia as seldom as possible, and that the Imports and Exports of the West Side the Mountains, should be taken to and from the New Depot on the Coast in like manner as has heretofore been done in regard to Vancouver. . . . You will report thereon fully for our information, as soon as you are enabled so to do with accuracy; we say with accuracy as comparing the discription of Nasqually, prepared of late, by two Gentlemen within a few months of each other, we should not have known it to be one and the same place, so widely different from each other were their reports upon it. . . . the Coast depot, should be somewhere inside the Straits of De Fuca at Whidby's Island, or elsewhere in that quarter, as being easy of access, a more convenient distance from Vancouver, and in a better climate, where Cattle could be reared without hand feeding, and farm produce raised, whereas Dundas Island appears to us disadvantageously situated in all these respects."

tell me if it is well watered, but even allowing that it had a good harbor, and every requisite to make an excellent Farm, removing the Depot to that place would not only be placing it in a more inconvenient situation for the Company's affairs than here but would actually be incurring the expense of an additional Establishment to no purpose, as after the Goods would be landed at Whidbeys Island they must be reshipped to this place (as this place must be the Depot for the Interior Trade) and to the Coast, but some may say it will not cause the additional expense of an Establishment if we abandon Fort Langley and Nisqually and with the two form one Establishment on Whidbeys Island; to this I beg to observe that the greater part of the Indians who trade at Nisqually and Fort Langley could not go to Whidbeys Island and besides the expense of keeping up the Establishment at Fort Langley is in general paid by the Salmon Trade which could not be carried on from Whidbeys Island, and I therefore beg respectfully to recommend that no Depot be formed at Whidbeys Island, as it is not only inconvenient but incurring an unnecessary expense, and that we be allowed to go on with the present system as the most economical and efficient, that is, that this be the Depot, and that the Goods for the Coast be sent from this with all the provisions &c. either to Fort Simpson near Dundas Island or Fort McLoughlin as may be most convenient for the Vessel on the Coast to get her Supplies, and this is all I meant the Depot on the Coast would have to do, when I recommended Fort Simpson for the Depot, as to Agriculture it is enough if they can raise potatoes for themselves. The entrance to the Columbia it is true is bad, still by having the Depot on Whidbeys Island, we will have to encounter the dangers of the bar of the Columbia with the Supplies for the Interior, and with the Returns &c. and there has only been two Vessels lost on it since the North West Co. established at Fort George; Capt. Ryan lost the *Isabella* but he did not take time to examine the entrance, took Chinook hill for Cape Disappointment and came in by a wrong channel, yet if the crew had remained with the Vessel, she would not have been lost. Capt. Swan lost the *William & Anne*, and if what has

been told me since his death be true, he was not prudent; on his first trip here as Mate to Capt. Hanwell, the latter placed Mr. Swan to look out, but Capt. Hanwell being anxious went himself forward, when he arrived at the look out though Mr. Swan had not given the alarm, still the danger was so pressing and Hanwell was shortsighted, that though the Captain ordered the Ship immediately about still she touched on her heel: when Capt. Swan came in the *Cadboro* he actually got aground in the very place in which he was afterwards lost in the *William & Anne*, and when the last unfortunately occurred the weather was fine, if they had kept closer to the wind instead of going before it, this misfortune would not have happened.

9. Mr. Michel Laframboise of whom I stated (in mine to Govr. Simpson of 18 March) that I had no accounts since his departure I am now happy to inform you reached this on the 24 April. The reason for his not coming at the time appointed is, that in consequence of finding no Beaver where he was directed to go,¹ he had to proceed to the Bonaventura Valley, and I am happy to be able to say that his returns are the best we have got for some time from that quarter; the Expedition cleared £808.6/. of which I send you the account.² Leaving this Spring 1835 Mr. Laframboise proceeded along the Shores

¹ B. 223/b/11, fos. 8d.-9, McLoughlin to Laframboise, April 7, 1835, "You will proceed . . . to hunt the country along the coast, between the Umpqua and the Clamet River, and . . . you may erect a small Fort in that part of the country, and leave people to trade with the Indians. Your trappers . . . may hunt round that Fort, or they may hunt up the Clamet River to the Clamet Country, but on no account must they go to the Valley of the Bonaventura."

² B. 223/b/12, fo. 4od., "Account Current Michel Laframboises Party, Outfit 1835 :

Dr.			Cr.		
To Supplies	321	13 9	By Book Debts		64 5 2
„ Servants Wages	338	5	„ Inventory		178 4 2
„ „ Credits furs	480	8 10	„ Returns Vizt.		
		1140 7 7	825 Large Beavers	30/6	£1258 2 6
			232 Small do.	13/6	156 12
			21½ lbs. Coating	12/3	13 3 5
			199 Land Otters	16/4	162 10 4
			27 „ do. Dressed	8/-	10 16
			14 Large Sea do.	120/-	84
			3 Midg. „ do. „		18
To Profit & Loss Gain		805 6			1703 4 3
		£1945 13 7			£1945 13 7

It will be noted that McLoughlin's letter makes the profit £808 6s. whereas the actual accounts show a profit of only £805 6s.

of the Pacific South of the Umqua till he came close to the Russian Settlement of Bodega (which he did not visit) and then crossed into the Bonaventura Valley. On his arrival here he informed me that he had found a place on the Coast where Sea Otters were abundant, I sent him in the *Cadboro* Capt. Broatchie¹ to hunt along the Coast between this and Bodega, but he killed only Twenty two Sea Otters, he visited the place where he had seen Otters so plentiful, but found none there, it seems they had abandoned the place. On the return of the *Cadboro* from this Expedition she was sent to Fort Langley & Nisqually with the Outfits for those places and to bring the returns.

10. In compliance with your orders in Paragraph No. 14 of your letter of 8th December,² I have enquired who it was

¹ William Broatchie. See Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names*, pp. 64-5.

² A. 6/23, fo. 155d., Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, December 8, 1835, par. 14, "Herewith we forward an article which appeared in the Times newspaper of 2nd Ultó., the particulars of which must have been copied from Mr. Ogden's journal, or taken down at the time in writing and forwarded to some one in the Country, who has wrought up the article into its present shape. We can scarcely think that any of the Commissioned Gentlemen could have done so indiscreet a thing, we therefore suppose it must have been one of the Clerks attached to the Expedition, or who had access to the journal, that has been guilty of this breach of confidence, which is highly reprehensible. The Editor of the Times has declined giving up the name of the writer, we therefore desire that you will endeavour to ascertain who the person was, and let us know the result of your enquiries. . . . The information could not possibly have been furnished from official papers, forwarded to this Establishment, as that article contains details, which have not been communicated to us, and which Governor Simpson says, were not transmitted to him under public or private cover." A. 6/24, fo. 68d., Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, January 25, 1837, "We observe that your various Dispatches are in different hands writing, thereby giving more publicity to the correspondence, than is either necessary or proper, which might be attended with inconvenience, and may account for particular information connected with the Company's affairs, having appeared in some recent publications, and periodical prints, we have therefore to desire that your letters be in future in your own hand writing, or in the hand writing of some Commissd. Gentn. who may be stationed with you at the Depot, and that the correspondence be open only to persons holding an interest in the business." The *Times* article was "on the transactions at Stikine, 1834" (see pp. 134-5 and 317-22). Only part of the article is printed in the *Alaskan Boundary Tribunal, Appendix to the Case of the United States*, pp. 280-1, and the article is dated November 3 instead of November 2.

that sent the Paragraph to the Newspaper to which you allude but I am sorry to say I cannot find out the author.

11. On the September Mr. Laframboise and a party of 25 Men left this to hunt the Country South of the Umqua.

12. Our Crops are as good as usual and I have the pleasure to inform you that we have had fewer cases of fever than any year since its appearance in 1830.

13. The American Missionaries applied for some Supplies which I allowed them to get at an advance of 100 p. Cent on prime Cost, and I promised them they would get such further Supplies as we could give till we received your Honors Instructions, and their Servants would be charged 150 p. Cent advance; the reason I make this difference is that their Servants are engaged at the Rocky Mountain Trappers rate of Wages say from 20 to 30 Dollars p. month in consequence of the high price of Goods there, and giving these men our goods cheap would be conferring a benefit on them. With the Missionaries it is different, they have no pay and devote themselves in the way they do from the desire to do good to their fellow men; I explained the reason for this difference of price to the Missionaries.

14. In the 20th Paragraph of yours of 28 August 1836¹ you recommend to send a small Stock of Goods to Mr. Pelly instead of his drawing Bills on England; I had noticed the low price received for Bills on England already, and in the last paragraph of mine to Mr. Pelly of 30th September 1835 I wrote "you charge us the Dollar 5/ it seems to me you ought only to charge the price the Dollar cost, perhaps you pay that for them, I only wish to know if my understanding of it agrees with yours, as in future I hope you will have enough of property in your hands to prevent your being under the necessity of drawing". I see by Mr. Pellys account of 21 July 1836, Copy of which I now forward,² that though in February we were only by his account \$647.87 in his debt,

¹ This should be 1835. A. 6/23, fo. 142, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, August 28, 1835, par. 20.

² B. 223/b/12, fos. 48d.-49.

yet from the 3d to the 12 March he drew Bills on you for £855 Sterling, say 3537 Dollars; when he drew these Bills he had the Cargoes of the *Dryad* and *Ganymede* four months on hand amounting in value to eight thousand Dollars, and none of this is brought to our credit till seven months after it had been landed at Woahoo. It is true that out of the Bills he drew he advanced 1975 Dollars to Mr. French, but he was not authorised to do this; I send you my letter to him.¹

15. I request you will please to inform me at what rate Dollars are to be charged to Mr. Pelly at the Islands on account of his Salary, 5/- Sterling being the nominal value of Dollars there, and all payments on account of Officers and Servants have been charged their accounts at that rate: all the Exchange he has sold, with the exception of a small part at 4/10 p. Dollar, has been also at the same rate while he credits himself for Salary 1358 Dollars annually being the amount of Specie received for £300 imported p. the *Eagle* in 1833 without any charge for Insurance &c. He has been credited in the Books here only 1200 Dollars p. annum, making a difference of 474 Dollars on Outfits 1834, 35 & 36, he has also omitted to charge himself £11. 15. 11 brought against him for Stationery p. *Eagle*, it being my understanding that £300 Sterling allowed him was in lieu of all charges for Agency.

16. The *Lama* was to have been here about the 15 September and after suffering an immense deal of anxiety at her delay I had the pleasure to hear of her arrival at Fort George on the 29th Ulto. It seems she seperated from the Steamer on the 4 October at the North end of Vancouvers Island, the Steamer was on her way by Johnsons Straits to Fort Langley and thence to Nisqually in Pugets Sound. Mr. Finlayson who was on board of her was to come from Nisqually by the Cowlitz Portage and should have been here before this, and I am very much afraid some misfortune or accident has happened to cause this delay. At the time the *Lama* and *Beaver* seperated, Mr. Finlayson was affected with a disease in his hands which rendered him unable to carve his own

¹ B. 223/b/12, fos. 36-9.

victuals, but I do not consider that would have been sufficient to prevent our seeing him before this.

17. By Mr. Finlayson and Mr. Works letters it seems they had a strong opposition on the Coast, the Steamer arrived late and could not do much. I forward Mr. Finlaysons letter¹ and as he suggests we will send Samples of our goods with the prices to Fort Simpson; but as Mr. Finlayson has omitted to state if he had any conversation with the Russian Governor about the advance at which the Russians would purchase the Goods I would recommend if I may give an opinion to supply the Russians providing it could be done on remunerating terms.

18. A few days after the arrival of the *Columbia*, Capt. Darby brought a charge of Drunkenness against Mr. Prattent.² Mr. Prattent also accused Cap. Darby of having traded furs the last time he was here, and that he sold the furs at Woahoo as well as some Deals belonging to the Vessel; when Mr. Prattent was called upon for his proofs, he said he had none but Cap. Darby had told him so on their way out, but Capt. Darby denied it. I send you the Documents regarding this affair.³

19. It is with pleasure that I inform your Honors that Mr. Heath⁴ and Mr. Boulton⁵ first and second Mate of the *Columbia* are attentive sober men and have conducted themselves so as to give complete satisfaction to all the Superior officers under whom they have served.

20. You ordered a house to be built for Mr. Capendale and

¹ B. 223/b/12, fos. 16-24d. See Appendix A, pp. 323-35.

² George Prattent, second officer. By mutual consent of the captains of the *Columbia* and the *Beaver* the second officers were exchanged on February 23, 1836, when both ships were at the Hawaiian Islands, and Prattent continued the journey to Columbia River on board the *Beaver*.

³ B. 223/b/12, fos. 12-14d. Cf. A. 6/24, fo. 117, Governor and Committee to James Douglas, November 15, 1837, "We were so much dissatisfied with the conduct of Capt. Darby and Mr. Prattent, that their further services have been dispensed with."

⁴ William Heath. See Appendix B, pp. 345-6.

⁵ Henry Edward Boulton, who, after ten years' service with the East India Company, was appointed second mate of the *Ganymede* in 1834.

his wife,¹ but it is impossible to build a house for them now without neglecting other important Work, they occupy an apartment fellow to one in which Messrs. Ogden and Work lodged together with their families when they wintered here, however we will build him a house as soon as we possibly can, and I can only add what will appear perhaps extraordinary but nevertheless a fact that we have not been able to finish the house I dwell in along with the other officers of the Establishment.

21. I was induced to delay the departure of the *Columbia* to this date so as to send the furs of the coast and those of Fort Langley and Nisqually home by her, and to send you some account of our operations on the Coast, and all the information I have will be found in the Copy of Mr. Finlaysons letter to me. I need not I presume observe to your Honors that we could not afford to give wheat at the price the Russians offer.

22. I am sorry to say there has been a misunderstanding between Mr. Beaver and me.² A few days after Mr. Beaver arrived here, the charge of the School as a matter of course was made over to him, fully satisfied in my own mind that whatever improvement might be effected in the subordinate parts of the system, there would be no departure from its former general principles as characterising an Institution calculated for the promotion of moral and religious knowledge

¹ A. 6/23, fo. 140d., Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, August 28, 1835, "In order to give the farming establishment a fair trial, we have engaged a well informed practical agriculturist, William Capendal and his Wife; the one as Bailiff, the other to manage the Dairy Department, they bear most excellent characters, and have been strongly recommended to us as thoro'ly understanding the breeding and management of cattle of every description, and turning the produce to the best advantage, they are supplied with various articles for their respective Departments as noticed in the Invoice, and we hope under their management this branch of the Concern will prosper. Mrs. Capendal is also competent to superintend an infant school, and is very willing to make herself useful in any way her services may be required; the joint Salary of herself and husband is £50 p. an. as p. contract herewith . . . and you will take care that they are provided with house and suitable accomodation."

² Beaver's version of these differences was published in the *Church of England Protestant Magazine*, March, 1841, pp. 62-71, and was reprinted in the *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XXXIX, R. C. Clark (ed.), "Experiences of a Chaplain at Fort Vancouver, 1836-1838," pp. 22-8. Cf. *The Beaver*, September, 1941, "Mr. Beaver Objects", pp. 10-13.

without reference to sectarian tenets, intended to benefit all denominations of Christians by guarding with scrupulous attention against the introduction of all Subjects having a tendency to produce discussion or exasperate prejudice.

These General principles did not coincide with Mr. Beavers views, he insisted upon the necessity of teaching exclusively the Doctrines of the Church of England and would in no other manner take any Interest in its direction or management. Perceiving his Scruples which I could not reasonably oppose and sensible of the impolicy of yielding a point involving results of a most serious nature, I released him from the charge and he withdrew not merely his personal aid but also a few elementary treatises with which he had furnished the School. Persons ignorant of the state of feeling among Catholics who form the majority of the Companys Servants here may think my conduct unnecessarily cautious, but it is quite certain that the slightest departure from this moderate system will defeat the object of the Institution by causing an almost general desertion of the scholars. Coercion is indeed possible, but I do not conceive the object to be of sufficient importance to justify me in pursuing a measure so fraught with danger and clearly at variance with every principle of justice and sound policy. There are some other trifling points of discussion between us but I think it is unnecessary to trouble your Honors by mentioning them.

23. It is not in our power to send you the Samples nor the Statements you request in the 20 Paragraph of yours of 10 February 1836¹ but on enquiry of Capt. McNeill who is now here, he says the goods sold by the Americans on the Coast are similar to ours but that many of our Blankets this year were injured by being overstretched, there is one on board the *Lama* put there by Mr. Finlayson which will be sent to you.

¹ A. 6/24, fo. 13, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, February 10, 1836, par. 20, "It is desirable that you procure from some of the American Coasters, a pattern Blanket of the different sizes, and patterns of the Cloths, Calicoes, Guns, Iron Works &c. &c. with the English invoice prices, and the Merchants or Manufacturers names, to be sent to us by the earliest conveyance in order that we may compare them with our goods and prices, as we are desirous of knowing accurately the description of Goods, which our opponents use in the trade of the North West Coast."

24. I send you H.H. Spaldings Bill on the American Board of Foreign Missions p. £371. 8. 1 Sterling for Supplies furnished here to the Missionaries.

25. As directed in the 24 Paragraph of yours of 10th February Capt. Royal goes home in charge of the *Columbia*.

26. In regard to our plans the *Nereide* will replace the *Lama* on the Coast. We will lay up the *Cadboro* as I am of opinion we would get little or nothing for her at Woahoo. The *Lama* will go with a trading Outfit to California, then proceed to Woahoo, leave her Cargo there for the Vessel going home next year, and intend selling the *Lama* if we can get four thousand Dollars for her.

27. With this I forward a letter from the Governor of Sitka to the Russian Fur Company at St. Petersburg; Reverting to what I said in the 17 Paragraph on the subject of supplying them with goods, I there said it would be well to supply them provided we could do it at remunerating prices, it may be thought from the manner I stated it that I am averse to have Dealings with the Russians which is not the meaning I intended to convey, as I am desirous we would do it provided it pays; but as some Gentlemen think it may be necessary in order to make the Americans give up the Coast Trade to deprive them if possible of the Russian Market. As I am certain the Americans must give up the trade of the Coast, I think it is not necessary to make any further sacrifice on that account, and that the Russians are sufficiently attentive to their own Interest to purchase from those who will supply them on the cheapest terms. Mr. Finlayson says he shewed them the Goods and told them the prices, I suppose from the way he writes it must be the Sterling Cost that he means, leaving the advance to be Settled hereafter. Mr. Cowie will write you from Woahoo should he collect any information on the Subject.

28. Since writing the preceding part of this letter Mr. Cowie has decided on passing the winter at Woahoo, and as he is well acquainted with our business I have written Mr. Pelly to be guided by his advice in the disposal of the property and funds in his hands, and Mr. Cowie will invest the latter

in articles suitable for the English market or in such as may suit our Trade as he may consider most advantageous to the Company.

29. I received a letter from Mr. Prattent dated 28 October which I now send, and in reply, copy of which is also forwarded,¹ I inform him he will have a passage on board the *Columbia* and that I will recommend him to your Honors to allow him his pay to this date.

30. Before bringing this letter to a close, permit me to thank your Honors for sanctioning the Grant proposed by the Northern Council which in my estimation is not valued so much in a pecuniary point of view as in its being a gratifying expression of general approbation, the more soothing to my feelings from having in the course of my management had to contend with opinions directly opposed to mine, and to combat (when in novel circumstances of urgent difficulty which compelled me to step boldly out of the beaten path of routine) the views and declared Sentiments of many whose opinions on other subjects I highly respect. Without some such decided mark of your preference, I would have been left in doubt with regard to the general estimation of my services, and it is in this light Gentlemen that I highly prize the Grant, and will be ever proud of the recollection that I owe it to the approbation of your Honors and of my colleagues in the Fur Trade.

Referring you to the accompanying Documents for further information regarding the business of this Department

I have the Honor to be

Honble. Sirs

Your Most Obedt. Servant

JOHN McLOUGHLIN
C.F.

18th Novbr.

Yesterday evening Capt. Home arrived here having left the Steam Boat *Beaver* anchored at Nisqually, all well, except Mr.

¹ B. 223/b/12, fo. 50, and *ibid.*, fos. 50-50d.

Finlayson who I am extremely sorry to say is very unwell with a chronic Abscess, but whether it is from the wound he received in 1825¹ or from some other cause it is impossible to say, but he is so weak that he is obliged to keep to his bed. Dr. Tolmie² is gone to see him.

I now find that the long delay of the Steamer was caused by the fog which detained her at Vancouver's Island in one place fifteen days, leaving that she took four days to go to Fort Langley, and from thence she was six to come to Nisqually, but on the way visited Port Townsend, Port Discovery and Whidbey's Island; but though they examined these places as well as they could, in none of them could they find a running stream of Water. But it is very probable water could be found by digging Wells, still the soil is very poor and Whidbey's Island is only sand but a little vegetable mould on the top.

Mr. Cappendale having applied for a passage³ for himself and his wife to Europe I acceded to his request.

I have the Honor to be

Honble. Sirs

Your Most Obedt. Servt.

JOHN McLOUGHLIN

Private

Fort Vancouver 16 Nov. 1836⁴

To The Governor Deputy Governor
and Committee H.H.B.Co.

HONBLE. SIRS

By the fifth paragraph of your Honors Dispatch of 25th August 1835 It seems to me you do not Understand the

¹ D. 4/7, fo. 153, Simpson to the Governor and Committee, August 31, 1825, "Mr. Duncan Finlayson Clerk a young Gentleman of considerable promise who was severely wounded last winter in peace River by the accidental discharge of a spring gun goes home on leave of absence for the benefit of surgical advice."

² William Fraser Tolmie. See *B.C. Hist. Quar.*, I, S. F. Tolmie, "My Father; William Fraser Tolmie", pp. 227-40.

³ B. 223/b/12, fo. 51d.

⁴ B. 223/b/12, fos. 70-83d.

Manner in which I opposed Mr. Wyeth. When he arrived here in 1834 I made an Agreement with him by which in consideration of our not putting obstacles in the Way of his getting Horses at Walla Walla nor Raised the price of Salmon at this place—he nor any of his people were not Directly or Indirectly to interfere with the trade of Furs below powder River in the Snake Country. By this Arrangement I prevented his Interfering with Us in Any place where we had no previous opposition and I did this without Actually giving up any thing as though we did not Raise the price of Salmon We opposed him as much as was Necessary. We had and still have Mr. Ermatinger in the Flat Head Country and Mr. McKay in the Snake Country and they opposed our opponents so Effectually that they are Receding from us. It is true Mr. Wyeth still keeps up Fort Hall at the Black foot Hills. But if the old Established American parties are giving up the trade in consequence of their Losses We may be certain Wyeths Losses are Great, and though he still keeps up Fort Hall yet he has but very few Goods and he must be keeping it Up with some Ulterior View. I suspected his plan might be to Endeavour to unite his countrymen in One Body and that he would bring them their Supplies by the Columbia. But while I was recommending him to your Honors still, to shew him if he came with that Object that he would have a strong Opposition to contend with, I told him we would have a large Outfit at the American Rendez Vous Next Summer and that we would let him have it if he Brought an Order from your Honors or we Would Employ it in Equipping trappers as circumstances might Require. And at the same time Directed Mr. Chief trader John McLeod whom I sent to the American Rendez Vous to converse with the Leaders of the American parties about purchasing their Supplies from us and I Expect an Answer from them in the course of the Winter. But Gov. Simpson and the Northern Council Direct me in the 13th paragraph of his Letter to me of 25th June 1836 “ That no party be outfitted from the Companys store unless commanded by one of our officers Equiped on the Companys Account and Wholly Under the Companys Direction ”, Which places me

in an awkward situation. My object in proposing to supply these trappers was to Defeat Wyeths plan (and the best plan he could form in his situation) at the same time we would make something by the Business and Direct it so as to free ourselves from their Opposition. And it is certainly more Advantageous for us to do so than Allow them to be Outfitted by Others and come in Opposition to us. But as when I wrote to Gov. Simpson I saw no Opportunity to Enter on this plan I did not Mention it to him (though I felt convinced since I am here that the Most Advantageous way to carry on the trade of the Snake country would be to Equip the Leaders on their Accounts), And I am now at a Loss What to do if these people send to Me. But as I am well convinced that the Difference Between the Governor and Council and My View of the subject arises from their not having the necessary information I shall follow Up the plan and trust that the Result will prove the correctness of My View and we must bear in mind that as we may be deprived of the South side of the Columbia by a Boundary treaty We ought to make all we can out of it While it is in our power.

2. But this Order not to Equip Leaders on their Accounts interferes with an other plan of Mine Which was if the Americans gave over molesting us in the Snake Country to Equip McKay and Laframboise or others on their accounts to Hunt the Entrance of the Rio Colorado in the Gulf of California Which is said to Abound in Beaver, and by Equipping the people from the Snake Fort this place could be hunted and this would Allow the Snake Country Recruit. But though well satisfied with the Zeal and Exertions of these two Gentlemen still I would Equip them or Any others going there (if I could) on their Accounts as it not only secures Exertion But the terms secure a handsome profit without being accused of Inter-
loping.

3. Some Gentlemen may think the terms on which I Equiped Mr. McKay are too favourable to him. I offered it to others on these terms—But None would take it.

In 1830	A Made Beaver cost	
	in the Snake Expedition	13/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
" "	" " Southern "	18/9 $\frac{3}{4}$
1831	" Snake "	28/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1832	" "	15/8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1834	" "	28/4
1835	" "	22/
1833	South "	11/6
1835	" "	13/6

If a made Beaver cost so high When the Goods are Valued at 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ p. Cent on prime cost It is Evident that it is impossible those who pay a hundred and fifty per cent Advance and are Allowed one pound Sterling p. Every Made Beaver can clear much Money. Indeed they most probably must Lose as there is very little difference between this price and What our common trappers pay.

Example—our trappers

Goods prime cost	£100
Advance	50
	<hr/> 150

which paid in Beaver at 11/- p. Made Beaver is 263 $\frac{7}{10}$

McKays price	
Goods prime cost	£100
Advance	150
	<hr/> 250

paid in Beaver at one pound p. made Beaver is 250

so that McKay has only thirteen Beaver to pay his Expences and Remunerate him for his Labour. But as in 1834 Mess. Ogden and Work were of opinion that a trapping party on the south side of the Columbia would not pay I Equiped Mr. McKay to hunt and Gave him An Outfit on his account to trade with the American trappers so as to Introduce Our Goods Among them (Which I had Attempted several times before but our people had never been able from some cause

or other to get to the American Camp) and prohibited him from trading in the Lower Snake Country in the same Way as Gov. Simpson and the Gentlemen at Colvile Spring 1829 proposed to Equip Montour. But When Wyeth Entered the field McKay seeing this strong Opposition Wrote me his Agreement would Ruin him, that Wyeth had offerred to take his Goods of his hands and to return the same quantity at this place. I had Agreed (as is usual in Every Instance in which I saw people Equiped on their account in the Indian Country) to take his Remains of his hands. But as he was afraid this would not be Agreeable to me he had Declined the offer, and as In consequence of Wyeths unexpected opposition It now became absolutely necessary to have some person Alongside of him in the Snake Country, I wrote Mr. McKay to continue his Endeavours and that I would come between him and Losses¹ and transferred the Outfit to the account of the Company and it can be seen by our Accounts that this Outfit cleared² and accomplished our object. But Wyeths clerk or Partner, I do not know which he is thought, though Erroneously, that we were to give up the Flat Heads post in return for their non interference in this quarter and Induced Mr. McKay (who did not then know I had taken the Outfit of his hands) to join them and send a joint Outfit to that place

¹ B. 223/b/11, fo. 51d., McLoughlin to McKay, October 4, 1834, "Private & confidential", "... I hope you will still be able to sell your property to Advantage in the course of the winter. . . . As I was the means of your entering on the business, I will clear you from any loss, and although Captain Wyeth has proposed an Arrangement to avoid all opposition here below, to which I have agreed, still I have reserved to ourselves the Right to fulfill any Engagement Mr. Ermatinger may make and my Engagement to you, so that you will be supplied by us with Goods &c. to carry on the trade you have entered on, as long as it will be advisable to do so." B. 223/b/15, fo. 21d., McLoughlin to John McLeod, Jnr., May 10, 1836, "I have as Mr. McKay requested transferred his outfit of last year to the Company and he will be credited with his wages and if the Expedition turns out well it will be taken into consideration."

² B. 223/b/11, fo. 24d., McLoughlin to the Governor, Chief Factors and Chief Traders, Northern Department, August 29, 1835, "Mr. McKay is returned from the Snake Country, his expedition will clear about three Hundred pounds, which is very well considering how that the country is over run by Parties."

(McKay justly thinking that if we had given up the Flat Head post to Wyeth we could have no objection to his going there). This outfit however never reached the flat Heads But was taken By the Black feet. It is true Wyeth Applied for the Flat heads in Return for his Non Interference with the fur trade at this place and At Walla Walla. But I told him at once that I was not authorised to do an act of that kind and even if I was I saw no Reason to do it and that it was a Rule with us Never to retreat before an opposition. Some Gentlemen Disapprove of this Arrangement. Is it possible that Gentlemen unacquainted with the Mode of Dealing with these Indians and our situation at the time and absent from the scene of Action can be as Good judges of What is best to be done as a person on the spot? But What did I give up, *Nothing*. And while I opposed him in the Snake Country, as much as he could be opposed, By My Arrangement I *take credit to Myself for having secured the Fur trade at this place Entirely to Ourselves While I reserved the Right to oppose him in the Salmon trade* (which Was his principal object here) as much as was necessary, and Without spoiling the trade or Wasting property or that his presence Diminished our profits (as Is seen by the Accounts) I *Thwarted his plans* as Effectually as if I had spent our Whole Outfit on that sole object and of Which there can be no better proof than that he has Given up the Business and yet Gov. Simpson and the Northern Council write me in the 15th paragraph of his Letter of 25th June 1836 "We think it better to oppose him Vigourously Allow him do his Worst and to Decline Entering into Any Arrangement with him than afford him An opportunity to secure a firm footing in the country by temporising Measures". What can Induce Governor Simpson and the Northern Council to suppose Wyeth was not Vigourously opposed? Is it because there was no quarrelling as in former times. But the Reverse that all was so quiet that he has not the shadow of An Angry Word to say of us. Your Honors may depend on it that it is not those who get into quarrels with their neighbours who Manage best for the Interest of the Concern to Which they Belong and the Best proof I can give that I took the best plan to Manage

the Opposition is as I said before that Wyeth is obliged to Withdraw, the American trappers are Receding from us—our Returns have not decreased and our Books shew our profits have not Diminished, and though I know that Your Honors as well as Governor Simpson and the Northern Council only Expressed an Opinion still I owe it to the Interest of the concern and to Myself to give you these Explanations.

4. When Mr. Wyeth was here in 1834 he Engaged a young Man as a clerk of the Name of Walker¹ (Who came here with the American Methodist Missionaries) But this spring his time being Out he refused to Engage to Wyeth to go to the Snake Country and remained here giving out that he Intended to become a Trapper (Wyeth Equiped him with traps). But as it might be that Wyeth had Equiped him thus to go about and acquire a knowledge of the Country Which would be of Great use to Wyeth if he comes back to oppose us again, I tried at first to Engage him for the Snake Country but he would not Engage for that place (where all the information he would acquire would do us no more harm than that which his Countrymen Already have). At last however I Engaged him for any place we may Want him (Except the Snake Country) for three years at forty pounds p. Annum and to be Increased if found Deserving, and Immediately sent him to Nisqually and to be sent from there to Fort McLoughlin, Where he could Acquire no information Advantageous to Wyeth or Detrimental to us. But he has sent me Word he would now on Condition of an Increase of Wages go to the Snake Country: he will therefore be sent to the Snake Country or Fort McLoughlin as May [be] considered most Expedient and as My Engaging him as a clerk is contrary to Rule I trust your Honors will take into consideration My object in assuming this Responsibility.

5. You write in the 21st Paragraph of your Despatch of 28th August 1835 "We Almost Wish you to come to England the Next year 1836 Instead of deferring it to a More Distant period. At the same time we do not press it unless it

¹ Courtney M. Walker. He was discharged in 1841.

suits your own Arrangement". I would be Extremely happy to have the pleasure to hear you state your views and to give you My Opinion and Explain my Views Verbally to you, which can be done so much more fully and clearly in that Way than by Written communications. But I am sorry Circumstances did not Admit of it. In the first place the Vessel Arrived too late, secondly if I had gone Out Mr. Finlayson nor no other commissioned officer could have gone to the Russian Establishment at Sitka and we would have had again to postpone that part of our plan. But I Beg to state the plans we have hitherto followed and are now following.

6. On the north side of the Columbia beyond the Reach of opposition We Allow the country to be hunted only by the Natives.

7. But as we can only get the Furs of the South side of the Columbia toward the Snake Country but by trappers and as we only have a precarious tenure of that country and may be Deprived of it by a Boundary treaty, We have hunted it with trappers as much as we could and would Recommend to continue to hunt it as long as it pays, as it gives Employment to Our trappers and takes away Inducements from the Americans to push down to our posts; and to carry this plan completely into Effect I would recommend to Equip the best of the American Leaders of parties on their Account on such terms as would pay the Company and Enable them to compete successfully with their opponents and this is the plan I had in View when I Recommended Mr. Wyeth to your Honors and in this Way we would secure Ourselves from Opposition, Make something by the Business, and in a short time Divert the trade of that part of the country, say south side of the Snake Country and head Waters of Missouri from St. Louis, to this place.

8. An Important point for consideration is Whether the trappers and Engaged Servants Who retire from the Service should be allowed to settle in the country or Not; and Whatever way we View it—it is attended with difficulties. Governor Simpson Writes me not to Allow any of our people to settle and of course I will obey the order. It is true I Know and

Every One Knows who is acquainted with the Fur trade that as the country becomes settled the Fur trade Must Diminish and I therefore Discouraged our people from settling as long as I could without exciting ill Will towards the Company. And in 1828 formed the party of trappers Under Mr. Chief trader Alex. R. McLeod to hunt towards the Bonaventura in the hope that we would find a place Where we could Employ our Willamette freemen so as to remove them from a place where they were Anxious to begin to farm. One of them Lucier had applied to me for implements for farming but I did not give them and Dissuaded him from it and to get Rid of him Granted him and his family a passage to Canada and on his failing in his Attempt to get across the Mountains fall 1828 Inconsequence of the Express coming in so late, Gov. Simpson May perhaps recollect my Mentioning to him One of My Reasons for forming Mr. McLeods party and for Granting a passage to Lucier and his family to Canada and that on that Account Lucier was sent to join Mr. McLeods party. In 1829 Capt. Dominis came to Oppose us and Went away in 1830, and that year Lucier repeated his application for farming implements and as Dominis had Given out that he would be here the latter End of 1831 or beginning of 1832 I considered it but prudent to accede to his Demand as I was afraid if I refused him he would join the first opposition which came here. In 1832 Wyeth came and returned in 1834. With these opponents alongside of Us if we had refused leave to these men to settle or refused them assistance to accomplish their object It would have Disaffected them to the Company, Excited their ill Will towards us, and Encouraged our opponents to persist in their Endeavours to get a footing in the country—still I Allowed none to settle but such as had Means to Enable them to Equip themselves with implements Except One Man who had been Wounded in a Battle with the Black feet and who was too infirm to follow the hunting party and I beg to state as My opinion that I consider this plan as the best the company can follow—By refusing the trappers or Servants Leave to settle they become disaffected and I may say hostile to the Interest of their Employers and by Allowing

them to settle with families It serves as an Encouragement to them to behave Well—By Requiring them to have fifty pounds (the sum I have Made it a Rule a man must have if he wishes to settle) It makes them Exert themselves and when A Man is Arrived at their time of life and has his family (None But Men with families are Allowed to settle) about him he will not leave his farm to join an opposition, and you may Depend that the country Along the coast from Pugets Sound to St. Francisco is a much finer Country than Canada or New York. The soil is better in Many places and the Climate is Milder and as such a country will not remain long without settlers It Remains for your Honors to Decide whether you will Allow the Old Servants of the company to settle in it—Who with their children Will Look on the Company as their Benefactors or to prevent them and consequently keep the country to be settled by a people who will most probably feel very differently Inclined towards the Company, and I would therefore recommend to continue the plan I have hitherto followed and as we can get a Market for their Grain we might Make it a Branch of our Business—confer a Benefit on these men and Raise a population which would join us in opposition to that which is likely to come.

9. In Regard to the Missionaries they have given me to understand that they had written to their Board to settle with your Honors about getting their Supplies from us or to get freight from you and import their Wants from England. If I may be Allowed to give an opinion I would Recommend to Agree to let them have their supplies at the present or even a Lower Rate of Advance or give them freight, as if you refuse them they will get their supplies from Wahou as they are connected with the Missionaries at the Sandwich Islands Who have a Vessel of their own, and if they send her here We may be sure that some Adventurers will avail themselves of the opportunity to come and open shop in opposition to us, Give us an Immensity of trouble, and Make us Incur great Expence. Some people are Averse to the Missionaries Attempting to Civilize Indians on the plea that Indians can never be Civilized. Allowing for the sake of Avoiding Argument that it is so, can

we prevent Missionaries dispersing themselves Among these Indians? I say we cannot even if we were so Inclined and as if they should succeed in civilizing these Indians it can in no way be an injury to us. We ought in policy to secure their Good Will and that of those who support them in their Laudable Endeavours to do Good, to afford them the countenance of our support and such assistance as we can give without Incurring Expence and this is the plan I have followed. The Methodists came in 1834, I gave them the little assistance they required from Me and for Which they paid—the Presbyterians came this year and I did the same—on the same Conditions, and I would recommend the same plan to be followed Without Distinction of Sect.

10. Gov. Simpson writes me in the 21st paragraph of his of the 25th June 1836 “It may therefore be well in order to Avoid all Kinds of Jealousy or Religious Disputation or controversy that the American Missionaries should with draw from our Establishments and provide quarters for themselves”. I am at a Loss to Understand What the Governor Means as we have no American Missionaries in Our Establishments or Dependant on Our Establishments; the first who Arrived, the Methodists, were here a few Days on their Arrival, Merely a sufficient time to prepare to go to the place Where they Intended to settle and we have only had four or five Visits from them since and they were Visits on Business. The Reverend Mr. Parker a Presbyterian Minister Arrived here last fall and from the time of his Arrival to his Departure *took up* his Residence with us—But the Gentleman was Alone and Entirely Destitute and to have refused lodging and food to a Man of his character and functions at his time of life—above Sixty years of Age—Would have been Worse than churlish and would have Deservedly Exposed us to a merited Load of Obloquy—and I am certain I have the pleasure to know Gov. Simpson sufficiently well to say he would not do what he has directed me to perform. And he must have been Misinformed on the subject.

11. I understand the Revd. Mr. Beaver complains that his Accomodations are not so comfortable as he Expected, that

the furniture is coarse and that the Rooms are not carpeted, and I am told he Intends to apply for carpets to your Honors. Such Applications Ought in My opinion to Meet with Discouragement and I trust no Demand of the kind will be Attended to as I intend doing every thing to Make Mr. Beaver as comfortable as the Circumstances of the Country will Admit, and I consider people ought to satisfy themselves with such things as the country affords—and I am Averse to the Introduction of any thing in the country which may lead to unnecessary Expence. Mr. Beavers house is the Best in the Fort. If he is Allowed carpets and imported furniture—has not every Gentleman in the place a Right to the same Indulgence—his Expenditure of Wine and Brandy is much Greater than the Allowance and I wrote him that we had certain Limits beyond which we could not Exceed; he Applied to have some on his Account, I replied I would be happy to Accomodate him if our Means could afford it after supplying all those who have just claims on us and Added “ permit me to hope that there will be no Departure from the Established Regulations of the place which provide Except at Dinner against even the Moderate use of Liquor in order to prevent the Evils resulting from an Irregular Mode of living. I am Induced to offer these Remarks from two Instances of partial Inebriety having been observed here lately and after strict Enquiry I have every Reason to Believe that the Liquor was supplied Neither from the Store or Shipping”. Mr. Beaver was in the Habit of having Liquor on the table when Visitors called to see him in an Evening, this is a practice that does not suit our situation as besides Generally degenerating in the long Run into Intemperance It causes Business to be neglected and I have always found it best (I might say necessary) In order to keep up Regularity and Attention to Business to Limit the use of Liquor to the Dinner. In Making these Observations I have no Intention of reflecting on Mr. Beaver’s Conduct as what he has done proceeds from I Believe a hospitable Disposition Without perhaps being aware of the Injury it Might do us and the Evils that might result from it.

12. I have today addressed your Honors a Seperate Letter containing My correspondence with Mess. Cowie, McLeod and Douglass, on the subject of My Arrangement with Mr. Wyeth; you see by the answer of Messrs. McLeod and Douglass that these Gentlemen give their opinions Explicitly—the latter Gentleman I must with pleasure do him the justice to say (he was here when I Made the Arrangement) saw through my plan and said at once “You calculate on his Expences Alone Ruining him”—I told him I did and the Result has proved that I was correct and this is the only Instance in the Fur trade in which an opposition was defeated with out Loss, and in Mr. Cowies Answer thoug[h] he admits My Arrangement was Beneficial to the Concern still he Expresses a Doubt as to the future. That people At a Distance And Unacquainted with the country should have their Doubts is not surprising. But that a person on the spot who is Acquainted with the Local circumstances of the trade should not see the certainty of the Advantages secured to the Company by the Arrangement—cannot be well understood as there is not a person Who Knows the trade of the place But will Admit that it is such, that Wyeth had only to tap a puncheon of Rum and open a Bale of Goods to make us spend hundreds to secure the trade and I am sorry to say this is not the first time In which I have found it Necessary to act in opposition to the Views of some who had the same Interest as myself, and you may Depend that Whoever the person is in charge of the Business of this Department he will Require your Confidence and support to be able to carry it on with Advantage to the Company and Credit to himself. Captain Holmes has I am told reported that the Steamer *Beaver* is to be placed on a Different footing from the other Vessels with Respect to cabin Stores, which are to be supplied Direct from England Independently of our Requisition. I trust this report is unfounded as I am striving Anxiously to check the Growing spirit of Extravagance Which is yearly Increasing our Expences—and if it is as Captain Home Gives out my Efforts will be fruitless.

13. The Reason for my sending this letter seperate is that as their are parts of it which ought not to be Generally Known

I keep it in my private Letter Book—But I will forward a copy to Gov. Simpson.

I have

The Honor to Be

Honble. Sirs

Your Obt.

Humble Servant

J. McLoughlin

Fort Vancouver 18th Novbr. 1836¹

To the Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee
of the Honble. Hudson's Bay Company.

HONBLE. SIRs,

As the propriety of my arrangement with Mr. Wyeth in 1834 has been questioned and I feel obliged to your Honors and Govr. Simpson and the Northern Council for mentioning it and thereby giving me an opportunity to give explanations It occurred to me that in Justice to the Company and myself I ought to write the following circular to Messrs. Cowie, McLeod and Douglas and I intend to do so also to the other commissioned Gentlemen in the Department when I have an opportunity.

SIR,

It seems by the 5th Paragraph of their Honors De[s]patch of 28th August 1835 and Governor Simpson's of 25th June 1836 that they consider Mr. Wyeth should have been opposed in a different manner and he was not opposed sufficiently vigorously. Will you please to inform me if you think the

Agreement I made with him was the most efficient and economical way for the concern to oppose him.

I am

Yours Truly
(Signed) JOHN McLoughlin

I forward you Messrs. Cowie, McLeod and Douglas' reply¹ but conceiving Mr. Cowie's not sufficiently explicit, as the words "so far" in my opinion means to say there "doubtful" I wrote him the following note

Ft. Vancouver 14th Novr. 1836

Robert Cowie Esqr.
Chief Trader H.H.B.Co.

SIR

In yours of the 11th Instant in reply to mine of the same date you state my arrangement has been "so far" productive of Benefit to the Concern, this does not seem to me allow me to say a distinct answer to my question, which is if the agreement made with him was the most efficient and economical way for the concern to oppose him. Will you do me the favor to give me your reply.

1st Can the Agreement I made with Mr. Wyeth be any injury to the concern.

2nd Was it possible to oppose him more effectually than we did.

3rd Is it possible to oppose him more economically.

I am

Yours Truly
(Signed) JOHN McLoughlin

Mr. Cowie gave me no reply, I applied to him today for an answer and he told me he did not know that he could say more

¹ See pp. 180-2.

than he did, to which I stated I did not expect any Gentleman to say more than he conceived to be correct, but that they ought to give reasons for their opinions, at all events he might acknowledge the receipt of my last note, and a little while after he handed me No. 4.¹ How an arrangement, by which our business was effectually secured and Mr. Wyeth was as effectually broken as if I had spent thousands to accomplish it, without our incurring one farthing of loss, "will lead Mr. Wyeth and other Adventurers to repeat their visits to this quarter" or how if I had spent thousands to accomplish what I have done would have prevented him or others if they see fit to come here I must say is beyond my comprehension and I would have felt obliged to Mr. Cowie if he had pointed out the defect of my system and proposed any other which would have been attended with equal success.

I have the Honor to be

Honble. Sirs

Your most Obedt. Servt.

JOHN McLoughlin

To John McLoughlin Esqr.

SIR

In reply to your Note of this forenoon regarding the agreement which you had made with Mr. Wyeth in '34, I can only say, that the measure which you adopted to oppose him, in my opinion was the most efficient, and economical method you could have adopted.

I Am Sir

Your Ob. Hum. Sert.

JOHN McLEOD

Fort Vancouver

13th November 1836²

¹ See p. 182.

² B. 223/b/12, fo. 56.

Fort Vancouver 11 *Novr.* 1836¹

To John McLoughlin Esqr.
&c. &c. &c.

SIR

In answer to your letter of this date referring to the Governor and Committees Dispatch of 28 August 1835 & Governor Simpsons letter of 25 June 1836 regarding the measures used for opposing Mr. Wyeth I beg to say that I consider the Agreement entered into with Mr. Wyeth has been so far productive of benefit to the Concern.

I am, Sir

Your Most obedt. Servant

R. COWIE

Fort Vancouver 14 *Novr.* 1836²

To John McLoughlin Esq.

DEAR SIR

In reply to your question "Will you please to inform me if you think that the agreement I made with Mr. Wyeth was the most efficient and economical way for the concern to oppose him", I beg to state, that I have always viewed that measure as decidedly advantageous—it was effected without sacrifice, and without expense—within the prescribed limits it afforded security and protection to our trade, which would otherwise have been exposed to all the evils of a ruinous competition; whilst we were left at full liberty, by means of the Flat Head and Snake Parties, to pursue our plans, and to meet Mr. Wyeth, upon equal terms, in any other part of the Country he might open business. I have moreover always

¹ B. 223/b/12, fo. 58.² B. 223/b/12, fos. 60-1

considered that measure as the result of profound calculation, displaying an intimate and most correct knowledge of the Fur Trade with its resources, and of the means best calculated to derive from it, the most extensive advantage.

The efficiency and economy of the measures pursued, admit of no question, and to place them in their proper point of view, I need only remark, that their result affords the only solitary example which the Fur Trade can produce of a rival trading Company being held in check, during two years, and being finally compelled to give up the contest, solely by the agency of masterly arrangement, and without pecuniary expense or sacrifice of character.

I remain

Dear Sir

Yours very truly

JAMES DOUGLAS

Fort Vancouver 18 November 1836¹

To John McLoughlin Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

SIR

In answer to your letter of the 15th requiring a more explicit answer to the queries regarding the arrangement made with Mr. Wyeth, I beg to repeat that "I consider that arrangement has been so far a saving to the Concern", it appearing to me at the same time questionable if it will not eventually lead Mr. Wyeth and other adventurers to repeat their visits in this quarter.

I am respectfully

Sir

Your most obedt. Servant

R. COWIE

¹ B. 223/b/12, fos. 62-63d.

Fort Vancouver 18th Novr. 1836 ¹

Wm. Smith Esquire
Secy. H.H.B.Co.

DEAR SIR

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of yours of 28th August 1835 and to return you my thanks for the trouble you had the goodness to take in forwarding my parcels to my Brother ² and which he received. I am sorry to see that you have fallen into a mistake in regard to the mag[az]ines and reviews sent: it is true they were included in the outfit, but they were on account of Individuals, the Subscribers of the Columbia Library, and consequently the Department has none.

As there are as many officers at present in our navy as we require, I asked Rhodes (the lad you recommend) if he would like the land service, with the intention of placing him in the store (till a situation could be found for him in the navy) where he might acquire knowledge which might be useful to him in making his way in the world, but he declined it, however you may depend he shall not be lost sight of.

I dare say you will be surprised at seeing Mr. Capendal back to England, he is an excellent good man, and I am certain would have found himself very comfortable and happy, but his wife finds things she says, different to what she expected. With best wishes I am

Yours truly
(signed) JOHN McLOUGHLIN

¹ B. 223/b/15, fos. 53d.-54.

² David McLoughlin, 1786-1870. He practised medicine in Paris.

Fort Vancouver 19th Novr. 1836¹

To the Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee
of the Honble. Hudsons Bay Co.

HONBLE. SIRs

I have just seen in the office a Packet addressed Chaplains report², and I sent Mr. Cowie to Mr. Beaver to inform him, that any report made by a Company's Officer on business connected with the Company's affairs ought to be made through the Officer in charge of the place. He told Mr. Cowie that he was instructed to make a report to your Honors and the Northern Council and declined handing it to me.

I have the Honor to be

Honble. Sirs

Your most Obedt. Servt.

JOHN McLoughlin
C.F.

¹ B. 223/b/12, fo. 64.

² D. 4/23, fo. 55, Simpson to Beaver, June 30, 1837, "I have to acknowledge your report of 6th March which has been laid before the Council. . . . Instead of forwarding that Report under seal direct to us as has been done, it ought to have been handed open to Chief Factor McLoughlin for the purpose of being transmitted to us with any remarks he might have to make thereon. In the absence of that Gentleman's report on your statements, it would be irregular to go into any investigation of many of the subjects it embraces, we therefore [intend] sending it for the purpose of being reported on by the Gentleman superintending the Company's affairs for the Time being at Fort Vancouver, who is instructed to return it to us with his remarks next season when it will be duly considered."

Fort Vancouver 17th Jany. 1837¹

To The Govr. Deputy Govr. and Committee
of The Honble. H. Bay Coy.

HONBLE. SIRS

Mr. Slacum² formerly a purser in the American Navy entered this River on the 22d Ultimo in the Brig *Loriot*. He came here to view the country and at the same time expected to meet some friends with whom he intended to cross the continent. But as they have not come he proceeds to Bodega and thence back to the States by the way of Mexico.

The affairs of this place go on in the usual way, but I have the pleasure to inform you that Mr. Finlayson is here and I am happy to say he is almost entirely recovered from his sickness, and will according to the instructions of the Govr. and Council recross the mountains this spring.³

I am informed that Mr. Charlton the British Consul at Woahoo, has given out that some one has made a deposition before him and which he has forwarded to the Foreign Office, that I had emasculated an Indian or ordered an Indian to be

¹ B. 223/b/15, fos. 67d.-68.

² William A. Slacum who was sent by John Forsyth, U.S. Secretary of State, to "obtain some specific and authentic information in regard to the inhabitants of the country in the neighborhood of the Oregon, or Columbia river; and, generally, endeavor to obtain all such information, political, physical, statistical, and geographical as may prove useful or interesting to this government." Cited by R. G. Montgomery, *The White-Headed Eagle John McLoughlin Builder of an Empire* (New York, 1935) p. 224. Cf. B. 223/b/15, fo. 76d., McLoughlin to Simpson, March 20, 1837, "As to Mr. Slacum I am of opinion he is an agent of the American Government come to see what we are doing." The complete text of Slacum's report is printed in *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XIII, 175-224.

³ D. 4/22, fos. 34-34d., Simpson to Finlayson, June 27, 1836, "By my public Letter to Chief Factor McLoughlin of 25th Inst. you will observe that in the event of that Gentleman's not withdrawing from the Columbia next year, you are directed to come across the mountains as your Services are required in this quarter and no longer necessary on the shores of the Pacific, but should Chief Factor McLoughlin determine on coming out you will have to relieve him in charge of the Columbia Department."

emasculated. I never ordered an Indian or any one else to be emasculated. I write to Mr. Charlton by this opportunity to request him to forward me a copy of this deposition but perhaps he may refuse to send it. May I request your Honors to do me the favor to cause enquiries to be made at the Foreign office, to know if such a deposition has been sent, as endeavouring to fasten such a report on me is a gross and an atrocious calumny. I am Honble. Sirs &c.

(signed) JOHN McLoughlin

P.S. It is true that an Indian was emasculated by Dr. Gairdner but without my knowledge or consent, the fact is the fellow used to dress himself up as a female and go on board the Vessels and offer himself to the Sailors, the latter mentioned this and flogged the fellow several times to prevent his repeating his offences, but this did not put a stop to his proceedings, at last the sailors got hold of him and Dr. Gairdner emasculated him and I only heard of it half an hour after the operation had been performed.

(Sd.) J. McL.

Fort Vancouver 14th July '37.¹

To The Governor, Deputy Governor
and Committee, Honble. H. Bay Compy.

HONBLE. SIRs,

1. On the 11th May the *Diana* Captain Hinckly arrived at Fort George with a party to join the Methodist Missionaries in the Willamette, these Missionaries had freighted the *Diana* for \$1800, to bring them from Oahu to this place, and since her arrival the Crew has been employed in giving her a complete repair, but have in no way whatever interfered with the trade; and at present she sails for California.

¹ B. 223/b/17, fo. 24d.

2. The Brigade from the Interior reached this on the 7th, and departed on their return on the 26th Ult. Mr. Laframboise is returned with his party, his returns are rather better than last year. I had accounts up to the 20th June of Chief Trader John McLeod, he was then on his way to American Rendezvous.

3. I have the pleasure to inform you that yesterday evening Captain McNeill arrived here, having left the Steamer *Beaver* at Fort Nisqually in Pugets Sound; by him I have accounts from Mr. Work up to the 6th June; the small Pox is still afflicting the Natives about Fort Simpson, the Trade however is rather better on the Coast, than last year. There is no opposition on the Coast.

4. In every other respect the Company's affairs in this Department go on in the usual way. We have been expecting the Vessel from England this long time, if she is not here by the 1st Octr. and that every thing is quiet on the Coast we will send the Returns home by the *Nereide*.

I am, Honble. Sirs,

Your Ob. Humble Servt.

(signed) JOHN McLOUGHLIN

Fort Vancouver 26th Octr. '37.¹

To The Governor, Deputy Governor
& Committee, Hudson's Bay Compy.

HONBLE. SIRS

1. I[n] the 17th Par. of yours of 25th Jany. '37, in remarking on the Stikine affairs, you write, "It is not likely the crown Lawyers will recommend that the Government should press the payment of the apparently nominal damage or Expences incurred, as shewn in the account transmitted, in which no credit is given for services afforded by the Shipping and people, although they were unquestionably employed on

¹ B. 223/b/18, fos. 2d.-3d.

other Duties part of the time their services are charged the Stikine Expedition". In making out the Statement of the expences incurred in attempting to Erect an Establishment at Stikine River on the North West Coast of America, and for extending the Trade into the Interior of the Country towards Mount St. Elias &c. I consider it necessary, in order to give you as exact a Statement as I could of the Expences to which that Expedition would lead, not only to charge it with the wages &c. of the people actually employed on it, but also the wages &c. of the people on their way to come here to be employed in that part of the country, as I could not at the time say if they would have employment elsewhere for these men; but in June '35, after I sent you that Statement, finding an opportunity to Employ the Party returned from the coast, by sending some to Trap, and others to the Establishments in the Interior, I did it, and on this account the Expedition ought to get credit for the item E. in the account sent, say, £2205. 7. 6. and for the same reasons I employed the 30 men and 2 Officers who came fall '34, and the Statement ought to be Credited with the item F. £2164. 16. For the same reasons also, it ought to be credited with the item G £1646. and also the item H £1472. 13. 6. and with Interest on the item F. £54. 2. 5. as you will see fully detailed in the accompanying Statement.¹

2. As to the Shipping, it is true, that while the *Dryade* was at Fort Simpson waiting the proper time to take Mr. Ogden to Stikine to see Baron Wrangle, in order to have a full Explanation with him on what had occurred at Stikine, that she was employed in taking the Goods &c. from the old Establishment of Fort Simpson to the present site,² a distance of 37 miles; as it was only to place the Fort in a more convenient situation, I did not give the Statement credit for it, as it was certain, She rendered no service beyond the one just mentioned, however if I am in Error, of course it remains with Your Honors to correct it.

3. I send also the Statement of the Expences incurred in

¹ The enclosures to the letter of October 26, 1837, have not been traced.

² Cf. p. 110, n. 3.

attempting to erect an Establishment at Stikine River, on the North West Coast of America, and extending the Trade to the Interior of the Country towards Mount St. Elias &c. after making the corrections just mentioned; as to the loss sustained by the Company by our being prevented Establishing at Stikine, I think by estimating at Two Thousand Pounds p. annum, I am fully under the mark, as I think is evident in comparing the situation of Stikine and Fort Simpson, and the profit made at the latter place, and you see by the accompanying Letter, that Captain McNeill says, that he and Captain Allan traded in '35, from 16 canoes of Stikine Indians who arrived at Tom Guss while they were there, Thirteen Hundred Skins, and this was after they had traded with the Russians at the entrance of Stikine River, Indeed so convinced am I in my mind, that a most profitable branch of business could be carried on in that part of the country, and that I have underrated the loss the company suffered, that I would have no hesitation in taking that branch of the business on my own account.

4. The accompanying statement No. 1 is the deductions I made in the account of the Stikine Expedition, No. 2 is the Statement, as I think it should stand. I Remain

Your Honors

Most Ob. Hum. Sert.

(Signed) JOHN McLOUGHLIN

Fort Vancouver 26th Octr. '37.¹

To The Governor, Deputy Governor
& Committee Hudsons Bay Compy.

HONBLE. SIRs,

1. On the evening 15th May a little Boy brought me the Letter No. 1² but he could not tell me the name of the man

¹ B. 223/b/18, fos. 3d.-5.

² The enclosures to this letter have not been traced. For James Douglas's account of the mutiny see Appendix A, pp. 274-5.

who gave it to him, as it was dark when he received it. The following morning I handed it to Captain Home, and asked him if he had occasion to find fault with his Crew; he replied, he only found fault with one for Insolent conduct, when he (Captain Home) called him aft, and told him if he repeated such conduct he would punish him, and took no further notice of the Letter, but got a list of those suspected as leaders in writing the Letter, with the intentions of sending them in the *Lama* to Oahu.

2. On the 18th I received No. 2, of which I also took no notice. On the 25th in the evening, one of the crew of the *Nereide* (McLeod) called on me requesting to be changed. As I had that day settled the crews and exchanged him (he was one of those suspected to be troublesome) I told him he was already exchanged to the *Cadboro*, to which he was transferred on the 27th and John Belsey to the *Lama*.

3. On the 31st May in the evening the crew of the *Nereide* came to me in a Body, and said they wished to complain of Captain Home, I told them to go on board, and that in the morning I would go on board and hear what they had to say.

4. Next morning the *Lama* being ready for Sea I sent her off, and then went on board the *Nereide*, and examined the crew as per Document No. 3. Immediately afterwards they were examined in my presence by Captain Home as per Document No. 4, as also the 1st and 2nd Mate as per Document No. 5. I examined the Boatswain No. 7, Mr. Lattie¹ 2nd Mate No. 8, and the 1st Mate Mr. Dodd² No. 9, the Carpenter Robert Allan No. 10, Captain Home No. 11, and Capt. Brotnie No. 12, and on the 3rd June went on board the *Nereide*, and read to the crew my Decision No. 13. Captain Home remonstrated in presence of the Crew on my Decision about the watches as interfering with the management of the vessel, the crew then asked if they were to be placed in watch, and watch, I told them Yes; Captain Home repeated, that in deciding thus, I interfered in the management

¹ Alexander Lattey or Lattie, of Kirkcaldy, Fifeshire, who entered the Company's service as a seaman in 1830 and settled at Chinook about 1846.

² Charles Dodd. See Walbran, *British Columbia Coast Names*, pp. 145-6

of the vessel (and subsequently on the same day sent me No. 14). I then handed Captain Home his Instructions, and ordered him in presence of the crew to hoist anchor, and proceed on his voyage; he immediately ordered the crew to man the windless, which the crew refused; he then read them the Ships articles, and desired them one by one to man the windless, which they refused to do, as p. 1st and 2nd Mates Depositions No. 14, and I ordered them immediately to be confined in Irons.

5. On the 5th June I went on board the *Nereide*, had the crew called before me, and asked them if they were willing to return to their Duty, they told me they had given me their Decision, and that they would stick to it, I ordered them back to confinement, and to be fed on Prisoners allowance, Captain Home aske[d] me what I considered prisoners allowance. I wrote him as follows.

Captain Home

Sir

You will feed

John Blanchard

John Lucas

Jams. Bonnelly

John Willmore

Wm. Davis

Quintin Hootur

John Jarvis

Wm. Gray &

Peter Nyholme, on Bread & Water

until further orders

(Signed) JOHN McLoughlin

6. On Saturday evening 10th June I received No. 19. I went on board and told the Crew I had received their Letter stating they would return to their Duty if they had certain regulations granted them, but I told them I was determined they should do so without any conditions being granted them, and *now* I would not interfere with Captain Home in regard to the Watches, and that they should be reduced to one Glass of Grog. p. day, and told them if they persisted in their mutinous conduct, I would most assuredly punish them; Two of them John Lucas and John Jarvis, said they would not go to Sea with Captain Home, I made them no answer, the rest of the Crew were silent. In the evening I received No. 20

from Captain Home, stating, Peter Nyholme, Wm. Gray and Quintin Hoortur offered to their Duty; to which I sent the following reply.

Fort Vancouver 12th June '37.

Captain Home

SIR,

I presume that Peter Nyholme, Wm. Gray and Quintin Hoortur, offer to return to their Duty on the conditions I stated this morning viz. the Captain should regulate the watches as he pleases, and that they should be reduced to one Glass of Grog p. day, if this is their understanding you will allow them return to their duty.

I Am, Yours Truly

(Signed) JOHN McLOUGHLIN

A few hours after, I received Note No. 21, informing me that John Blanchard, James Bonnelly, Wm. Davis and John Willmore wished to return to their Duty, and I directed they should be allowed to do so on the same terms as the first.

7. On the 14th I went on board the *Nereide*, and as Stated in No. 22, ordered John Lucas and John Jarvis to be brought before me, and on refusing to return to their Duty, had a Dozen lashes given to each of them. On the 15th I went again on board, when every circumstance took place as Stated in No. 23. At first Lucas and Jarvis refused to return to their Duty; the Crew on being ordered up, came to me, and asked if I was going to Flog these men again, in a way between pleading and menacing; I told them they were called to see what was done, that we did not bring men to the country to Flog them, but to perform certain Duties, and if they would not do their Duty by fair means, we would try if other means would not do, as I was determined they would do their Duty; During this conversation, the Captain with the Two Officers Messrs. Dodd & Lattie were busy taking the Two men to the Rigging, but when they saw themselves going to be tied up, they said they would return to their duty, and I ordered them to be released, and since then they have all done their

duty well. Before leaving the *Nereide*, after all the crew returned to their duty, I ordered Wm. Redlur the Boatswain to be reduced to a Foremast man, for refusing to make a Cat when ordered to do so by Mr. Dodd chief mate, to whome he replied it was a thing he never had done, or would do.

8. It is evident to me these men had not the shadow of a complaint to make against Captain Home, but as I wished to get the vessel off to the coast immediately, as I had heard by the *Diana* that we had an Opposition on the Coast, for this reason I gave in as far as to promise that the watch in the *Nereide* should be regulated in the same way as in the other Vessels on the Coast belonging to the Company, but when they refused this, and maintained they would not sail with Captain Home, it became evident, that it was not redress they sought, but to Dictate who should be their commander, which I think left me no alternative but the course I adopted, and insist that they should sail with Captain Home; It is true, in the civilised world when a man refuses his Duty you may dismiss him, and replace him with another; in this country we cannot do it, but do our work with the people we have, as we cannot replace them, it therefore leaves us no alternative, but to make them do their duty.

9. I have been thus particular in relating to you every circumstance of this affair, that you might know what I have done, and how I had been placed, and that we may receive your Instructions on the Subject, so as to guide us in our proceedings in the event of being similarly situated hereafter.

I Remain

Your Honors

Most Ob. Humble Servt.

(Signed) JOHN McLoughlin

Fort Vancouver 31st Octr., '37.¹

To The Governor, Deputy Governor
and Committee, Honble. H. Bay Compy.

HONBLE. SIRs,

1. I have the Honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of 25th Jany. p. *Sumatra*,² Captain Duncan, and I am happy to be able to inform you, that her cargo was in excellent order.

2. The circumstance of the statement of the Damaged Goods on board the *Ganymede* having been witnessed by Joseph McLoughlin,³ and which gave occasion for remark, was because there was no other at the time at the Fort (besides Commissioned Officers) who could sign his name.

3. As to exchanging Captain Duncan for Captain Royal,⁴ and sending the latter home, I hope that long before this the *Columbia* has reached London, and Captain Royal in her.

4. I observe by your 7th Paragraph that you still contemplate to remove the Depôt to some place in the Straits of De Fuca,⁵ but we have not yet been able to find a situation in the Straits which would suit for Tillage and Graising, as you will see by Mr. Finlaysons Letter of 16th Feby. last,⁶ and forwarded this Spring to York, and I can only state, as I did in the 8th paragraph of mine of 18th Novr. '36, that in erecting the Depot in the Straits of De Fuca, it is not only placing it in a most inconvenient situation for our Business, but it will be incurring the expense of an additional Establishment to no

¹ B. 223/b/17, fos. 38-46, continued B. 223/b/18, fo. 2.

² The barque *Sumatra* was chartered from Messrs. McCalmont & Co. on December 21, 1836. She arrived back in London in April, 1838.

³ See Appendix B, p. 350.

⁴ Captain Royal's services were required in England.

⁵ See p. 154, n. 1.

⁶ This letter has not been traced.

purpose, as further explained in that paragraph; and even if we are restrained to the North bank of the Columbia, yet, the best place for the Company's main Depot is Vancouver.

5. As to employing a Vessel to hunt Sea Otters on the Coast of California as you mention in your 11th paragraph¹; we would be obliged to give a Third of the Sea Otters we killed to the Government of California for a Licence to hunt. The Americans have hunted without paying any Duty, putting the California Government to defiance, however we have no Vessel that will suit the Sea Otter hunt, since we sold the *Lama* to Captain Bancroft for \$5,500. Captain Bancroft is an Englishman, he has been hunting the Sea Otter for the Americans; we made an arrangement with him,² by which we are to supply him Goods for the Sea Otter hunt (to pay his Hunters) and he is to pay us in Sea Otter, we will see how he succeeds.

6. In your 12th Paragraph, after giving directions how to act towards an Opposition, you write, "Instead of entering into arrangements as in Wyeths and Bonnavilles Opposition, from which no Reciprocity can arise, we desire in cases where we may be interfered with in Trade, that the most vigorous opposition may be observed". As to Bonnaville we never made any arrangement with him, but Mr. Pambrun³ sold him a Roll of Tobacco and some Dry Goods, at Freemans prices, paid in Beaver at the same rate, but this was injudicious, as the Goods Mr. Pambrun had were to be sold in retail to the Indians, and, as when this occurred, our Stores were low, in

¹ A. 6/24, fos. 62d.-63, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, January 25, 1837, par. 10 (not 11), "Should you not find sufficient employment in the Coasting and Timber trade for all the Country Shipping, we think it may be advisable to employ one of the Vessels, as suggested in the 26th Par. of Govr. Simpson's dispatch of 25th June 1836, in hunting the Sea Otter, in the Gulph of California, a branch of business, which we understand the Americans and Russians follow up with advantage, and which Genl. Figueras Governor of California, authorised the Company (thro' Mr. Finlayson) to enter into on the like conditions: You may therefore make the necessary arrangements to commence this branch of business, as early as convenient."

² See p. 211.

³ Pierre Chrisologue Pambrun. See Appendix B, pp. 351-2.

consequence of the long passage the *Nereide*, Captain Langtry, had to this place, I was afraid she was lost, however she arrived in time to replace these Goods. Mr. Pambrun was tempted to sell by seeing the furs before him, but I explained to him the error he had committed, and I am certain he will not do the like again, as I must in justice to Mr. Pambrun observe, that he is as anxious to promote the Interest of the Concern as a man possibly can be, and has managed the affairs of Walla Walla, one of the most troublesome posts (if not the most troublesome) in the Country, with the utmost skill and judgment. But as to my arrangement with Mr. Wyeth, when I received your Despatch of 5th Augt. '35, in which I saw by your 5th Paragraph, that you did not approve of it, the thought immediately struck me, that though the advantages I had secured, had then escaped your notice, yet, still long before I received the Despatch I was reading, you had ascertained the correct bearings of the transaction, and that it was therefore unnecessary for me to trouble you with any explanation about it, and it was only when I received Governor Simpsons Despatch of 25th June '36, that I saw the necessity of sending you mine of 18th Novemr. '36, containing explanations, and accompanied by the opinions of Messrs. Cowie, McLeod & Douglas (the only commissioned officers then here, and at the time in my reach) in which I also informed you, I would as soon as possible get that of the other Commissioned Officers in the Department, accordingly I addressed the following to Mr. John Work.

Fort Vancouver 6th Decemr. '36.

John Work Esqr.

DEAR SIR,

It seems by the 5th Paragraph of their Honors Despatch of 28th Augt. '35, and Governor Simpson's of 25th Augt. '36, that they consider Mr. Wyeth should have been opposed in a different manner, and that he was not opposed sufficiently

vigourously; will you please to inform me, if you think the arrangement I made with him, was the most efficient, and Economical way for the Concern to oppose him.

I Am, Yours Truly

(Signed) JOHN McLOUGHLIN

To the above I received the following reply

Fort Simpson *6th April '37.*

John McLoughlin Esqr.

SIR,

In reply to your Letter dated 6th Decemr. '36, relative to your arrangement with Mr. Wyeth in '34, I beg leave to state, that my Opinion then, which I have since seen no reason to change, was, that by the arrangement, if strictly adhered to, Wyeth had very little chance of success, his chief dependance resting on the precarious result of the Salmon fishery, and equally doubtful, one of supplying his vagabond countrymen trappers at the Rendezvouse in the Interior; from the exhausted state of the Country above the Riviere Brulie to which he was confined, had he been allowed it exclusively, little was to be done, yet even then, by the privelege reserved for Mr. McKay's party, he was open to be as vigourously opposed, as had no agreement existed. As to no obstacle being thrown in the way of his getting Horses, or the price of Salmon raised upon him, I presume any one versed in the business will admit, that it was better to submit to it, than be subject to the trouble, difficulty and expense of having the price of Furs raised, and have to lower it again should the opposition cease, independant of the loss of the Furs that would have fallen into the hands of our Opponents in the Lower Columbia. This is the view I take of the whole transaction, with with much deference and Respect, I beg leave to Submit. I Am, Sir,

Yours Very Sincerely

(Signed) JOHN WORK

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OCTOBER 31, 1837

7. On the 6th March and 13th June '37, I addressed Messrs. Finlayson, Ogden, and Archd. McDonald, separately, a note similar to mine of the 6th Decemr. '36, addressed to John Work Esqr. and received the following answers.

Fort Vancouver 14th March '37.

John McLoughlin Esqr.

DEAR SIR,

I am concerned to find by yours of 6th Inst. that a Division of opinion has arisen on the Subject of your arrangement with Mr. Wyeth; you will doubtless remember, that when Mr. Wyeths arrangement was put into my hands on my arrival here in the autumn of '35, I gave it my unqualified approbation, but the success which has attended it, is the best, and most convincing proof, that it was the most efficient and Economical you could have adopted; and when the final accomplishment you had in view, that is the failure, and consequently departure of Wyeth from the field becomes generally known, and the tenor of that arrangement fully understood, such will undoubtedly lead to a concurrence of opinion amongst all who are Interested therein, that the steps you have taken were the most judicious which you could have followed. I Am, Dear Sir

Yours Sincerely

(Signed) DUNCAN FINLAYSON

I sent the Original of the foregoing this spring to York.

Fort Vancouver 14th June '37.

John McLoughlin Esqr.

DEAR SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours of Yesterday, on the Subject of the arrangement you made with Mr. Wyeth, and the Opposition he met with in the Columbia, requiring

my opinion thereon, for the information of their Honors and Governor Simpson, whether he was, or was not opposed sufficiently vigourously, and in the most Efficient, and Economical way for the good of the concern.

In the first place it appears to me I am unnecessarily called upon for such an opinion, and in the next place, must express my total ignorance of the arrangement, the transaction in question having taken place while I was absent from the country, but whatever was the result of the connexion with Mr. Wyeth, I presume neither the Honble. Board of Directors or Governor Simpson have reason to question the zeal, and good intentions which suggested it. I Am, Dear Sir

Yours Truly
(Signed) ARCHD. McDONALD

I sent the following reply.

Fort Vancouver 15th June '37.

Mr. McLoughlins Compliments to Mr. McDonald, and begs to observe that Mr. McDonalds note of yesterday, is not an answer to Mr. McLoughlins of the 13th Inst. Mr. McDonald states, "In the first place it appears to me I am unnecessarily Called upon for such an opinion, and in the next place, must express my total ignorance of the arrangement, the transaction in question having taken place while I was absent from the country". In reply, Mr. McLoughlin observes, that from the rank Mr. McDonald holds in the Concern, and in this Department, Mr. McLoughlin conceives Mr. McDonald ought to give an opinion on the subject, and Mr. McLoughlin is quite surprised at Mr. McDonalds ignorance of the arrangement, as the transaction was done publicly, and the Document placed in the office in the reach of every Gentleman concerned; Mr. McLoughlin regrets exceedingly that Mr. McDonald did not peruse these Documents, and would feel obliged by his doing so now, and favouring him with his opinion, as though it may differ from that of Mr. McLoughlin, still in justice to himself, and the

responsibility he assumed in endeavouring to promote to the best of his judgement, the Interest of the Concern, he considers himself intitled to the opinion of all the Partners of the Concern,¹ but more especially of those who from their situation, have every opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the results of the measure.

To the forgoing I received the following reply.

Fort Vancouver 22nd June '37.

John McLoughlin Esqr.

DEAR SIR,

By your note of 15th handed me today in reference to the reply I made to yours of 13th Inst., on the subject of the arrangement with Mr. Wyeth, I am sorry to find you do not consider that reply a suitable answer; I repeat, I consider myself unnecessarily called upon for an opinion in the affair having been as you know absent in England when it took place, and Mr. Wyeth having disappeared from the scene of action before my return to Vancouver; I did not think the merits of that arrangement required any justification of mine, more especially now, after you have the unqualified approbation of Two Chief Factors and Three Chief Traders on the Spot when Mr. Wyeth was here, but from the stress apparently attached to my opinion, and with such an Example before me, I must say, I have no reason to suppose, the arrangement was not the most Efficient and Economical way you could adopt for the Good of the concern.

I Am, Dear Sir

Your Ob. Servt.

(Signed) ARCHD. McDONALD

8. Mr. Wyeth had an Establishment here till 1836, half a year after Mr. McDonalds return from England, and Captain

¹ McDonald was not a partner. This is old North West Co. phraseology

Thing¹ was still at the date of Mr. McDonalds note at Fort Hall, acting for Mr. Wyeth. I addressed the following note to Mr. McDonald.

Fort Vancouver *26th June '37.*

Mr. McLoughlins compliments to Mr. McDonald, and begs to observe, that in Mr. McLoughlins opinion, Mr. McDonald in his Note of the 14th waves giving an answer to Mr. McLoughlins Note of 13th but gives Mr. McLoughlin a Certificate for zeal, for which Mr. McLoughlin did not apply, nor is he aware that he requires it. In regard to Mr. McDonalds note of the 22nd Mr. McLoughlin begs to observe, that in his opinion, it implies Mr. McDonald does not express disapprobation of Mr. McLoughlins arrangement with Mr. Wyeth, because others have already approved it, and Mr. McLoughlin considers, that in justice to himself, he is obliged to give Mr. McDonald his (Mr. McL.) understanding of Mr. McDonalds Two Notes of the 14th and 22nd Inst.

Mr. McDonald told me in the presence of Messrs. Ogden and Douglas, that he considered his note of 22nd June as a complete, and unqualified approval of the manner I had acted in Wyeths opposition; to which I replied, I considered the words meant as I stated in my note.

Fort Vancouver *15th June '37.*

John McLoughlin Esqr.

DEAR SIR,

Yours of 14th I have duly considered, and as you request my opinion in regard to your Arrangement with Mr. Wyeth, I have to remark, it was the most judicious you could have adopted for the Interest of the Fur Trade, and I am also of opinion, from the heavy losses, and defeat he sustained, that

Joseph Thing.

were he again to return he would not consent to make a Similar arrangement. I Remain

Dear Sir

Your Ob. Hum. Servt.

(Signed) P. S. OGDEN

I have brought forward my correspondence with these Gentlemen that you might see their opinions.

9. As to the South of the Columbia, we have hunted it, and are hunting it as much as we can, as I mentioned to you in mine of '36, p. the *Columbia*, and I know of no place between this and St. Francisco along the coast where a party could make a hunt. Last winter Mr. Laframboise with his party hunted in the Bay of St. Francisco, and we cleared on his Expedition £800; he is gone again in that direction, and is to endeavour to reach the entrance of the Rio Colorado in the Gulf of California, and is to meet the *Cadboro* about the middle of May between this and St. Francisco, in Trinidad Bay, give his hunt, and be Equiped for another excursion.

10. I see by your 14th Paragraph that the Governor and Council of the Northern Factory have recommended to you not to allow a Passage to the Two Catholic Missionaries¹ for whome the Bishop of Juliopolis applied; I can see no injury that the Roman Catholic Missionaries would do the Hudson's Bay Company by being in the Willamette, but the reverse, they would prevent the American Missionaries acquiring influence over the Canadians. We stand high in the opinion of the Canadian Trappers, and Freemen in the Willamette,

¹ A. 6/24, fos. 64d.-65, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, January 25, 1837, "An application has been made to us by the Bishop of Juliopolis, for a passage for two Priests to Fort Vancouver, with the view of forming a Catholic Mission on the Banks of the Wilhamet, which by the recommendation of the Governor & Council of the Northern Deptmt. we have declined complying with, on the ground that the Wilhamet does not afford a sufficiently extended field for further Missionary labors, and that we think it would be impolitic and imprudent, considering the fierce treacherous and suspicious character of the numerous Indian population in your neighbourhood, that the Missions of two persuasions, differing so widely from each other, as the Protestant and Catholic do, should be brought into such close contact with each other."

as a proof, we have made Six hunts in the vicinity of the Settlement in California, and have not lost a man. When Wyeth was here, he could not get a Potatoe to eat, till the Settlers first came to know if [we] had any objections, and this is because they consider that we wish them well, and are anxious to do them all the Good we can, consistant with our own Interest; but the influence of the Company will be much diminished if they hear that you have refused to accomodate with a passage a Missionary of their persuasion who wished to come to them, and if I may give an opinion, I would recommend to Your Honors to allow these Missionaries to come as its certainly our Interest, when it can be got with no expense, to have the good will of these men rather than their enmity.

11. You also write in the same paragraph, " But altho' it is our wish, that the rites of Hospitality should be shown at our Establishments to Strangers, when properly introduced, or to such as through necessity, or distress be compelled to solicit it, we are averse to keeping open house, for the Entertainment and accomodation of people who have no such claim upon us, but who make a convenience of our Hospitality to acquire a knowledge of our affairs, as Wyeth and others, and who repay us for such, by turning the knowledge they acquired to our disadvantage". The only persons I received were Mr. Wyeth (His men lodged in a House with our men) Captain Stewart, The Revd. Mr. Parker, and Mr. Townsend, a Surgeon and Naturalist who came across the continent, and whome I was obliged to employ for some time as a Surgeon when Doctor Gardiner went to Oahu. I invited Mr. Wyeth and his people to our Establishment from motives of Humanity, Policy and Interest. If he had remained out, it is possible that in the state of the Indians at that time, some, or perhaps the whole of his People would have been killed, a misfortune which his countrymen, and perhaps others might have laid to our charge, and made it extremely difficult to clear ourselves from the Odium of having instigated a Deed of such atrocity, and by being in the Fort he would acquire less knowledge of the Country, the Natives and their Language, than by going

about; the event shows he did not acquire any knowledge at the Fort, by which he was enabled to injure us. Captain Stewart handed me a Letter from the Honble. E. Ellice, addressed to Governor Simpson and the Chief Factors and Chief Traders. The Revd. Mr. Parker was an agent from the American Board of Foreign Missions; to have turned an old man of his profession out of Doors in the winter in such a country as this, would expose us to reflections. As to our keeping open House, I thought the accounts of our House expences sent home, would suffice to shew, that we commit no extravagance in that way. Your informents are very incorrect.

12. As to sending Timber, Salmon, and articles the Growth and Produce of the soil to Oahu; In '34, I sent Fifty Barrels Flour, which sold nominally for Ten Dollars p. Barrel, but in comparing the Goods procured in payment, the Flour sold only at the rate of Twenty Shillings p. Barrel in the London Market, and which would not pay, therefore, for the reason stated in paragraph I preferred sending them Timber, and have always had since '35, a cargo ready to be shipped when we had a Vessel to spare for the purpose; at present we have Two Hundred Thousand Feet of sawn wood ready for Shipping.

13. As you justly observe, none of the Companys vessels should be repaired at Oahu, unless as you state, "arrising from accident after leaving the Columbia", as such repairs can be made much cheaper, and better at this place, and I can assure you, no person can be more surprised than I was, to find in '35, when Captain Kippling returned from Oahu with the *Dryade*, that he had run up so high an account for repairs on her at that place, as when Captain Kippling left this to go to Oahu, he never mentioned the *Dryade* required any repairs. As to the Deals they were counted by George Roberts,¹ and his account agreed with that of the Mate Mr. Langley.

¹ George Barber Roberts, one of the Greenwich Hospital Apprentices who sailed from England in the *Garywede* in 1830. His "Recollections", in manuscript, are in Bancroft Library, 18-8, and a transcript is in the Archives of British Columbia.

14. In your 16th Paragraph you write, "In reference to the Farm we are surprised, that with all the advantages of soil and climate with which the country is favoured, and the means and facility you possess for extending the cultivation, a sufficient quantity of Beef and Pork to provision the Ships on their homeward passage cannot as yet be afforded, and that you had not been able to make a Shipment of Flour or Grain to New Archangel, altho' the Farm has been Established upwards of Ten Years". In regard to the quality and extent of clear ground about Vancouver, you seem very much mistaken; in the Plain where the Fort is, there is not Two Hundred acres which does not overflow in years of high water, is poor miserable Dry Singly soil, to make which produce a crop, we have to Pen the Cattle on it at Night, as Sheep are penned on Turnips. There is a Plain about a Mile and a half behind the Fort, about a Hundred acres, also of dry miserable soil, and another of the same size and quality about a mile further; we have had Two Crops from each of these plains. There is no good Grass in their vicinity on which we could feed the Cattle, to pen them on these plains as we do at the Fort; and consequently must give them a Four Years rest. There is also (which does not overflow) about a Hundred acres of sandy soil along the banks of the main Stream in the Lower Plain, in all, about Five and Six Hundred acres which does not overflow, but besides this, we have broken up and cultivated, about Four Hundred acres of the Plain which is apt to overflow. However, we often loose all our Labour, yet, when we happen to get a crop it pays well; But let it be recollected, that during these Ten Years in which the Farm has been in operation, it has supplied all the Provisions required at this place, along the Coast, and for the Shipping in the country, which together generally amounts to about £2000 annually, that during this time, we have had Two oppositions to contend with, that from '30 to '36, we have been afflicted every Summer with the Intermitent Fever, and that we have been so much pressed with labour, that we have now of former crops 4 M. Bushels Wheat and 4 M. Pease that are not thrashed. The plan I followed in regard to the Farm was to sow as much as I could.

of course I could only reap what the water left, and as we might be pressed by opposition, we could have little time to farm, or my Successor might not understand Farming (though I do not understand much) so much as I, and might not be able from this and other causes to get as much Grain as required; for these reasons I did not send the Grain I had disposable to market, and in place of it, turned my attention to send Timber which I could get easily, and from the cheapness of collecting it, gain more than we could on Grain, and keep the latter in case, as already said, we might require it. At present I think we have

5000 Bushels Wheat

5000 „ Pease

1000 „ Barley

1500 „ Oats, and on the whole with a

given number of men and Vessels, and comparing the price wood brings at Oahu, with the price the Russians offered Mr. Finlayson, say about a Dollar per Bushel for Wheat, it is evident when the facility of procuring wood is taken into consideration, in comparison to the difficulty of raising Grain, that we make more by employing our Vessels, when we can spare them from the Coast Trade, in taking wood to Oahu, than taking Grain to Sitka. But it seems to me you think we have a much greater number of men at this place than we actually have; I send you the List¹ of the men we had this Summer, and we had more this year, than we had any other year since I am here. It is true you see a large Number of men annually on the account of this place, but this number comprises the men come from York, and the men who have been employed on the coast, or with the Trapping parties, and who intend to go out in the Spring, and whome we have to feed and pay wages at a season when their labour is not worth the victuals they eat.

15. As to not being able to afford Beef and Pork to to provision the Ships on their Homeward passage, I formerly mentioned to Your Honors, that there was a weed in these Plains which poisoned our Pigs. As to Beef, from '25, to '36,

¹ This List has not been traced.

we never Killed more than a Bull Calf or Two annually for the purpose of getting rennet. Last year we Killed Forty Head of Cattle, and this year I think we will Kill about the same Number, which will furnish enough of Beef for our Vessels in the Country, however we will only Kill Oxen and cows which bear no calves, but it must be recollected that in 1825, when I took charge of this place, we only had 3 Bulls, 23 Cows, 5 Heifers, and 9 Steers.

We had on Inventory Spring '37 at this place

229 Cows
58 Bulls
178 Oxen and Steers
61 Heifers
159 Calves

And on Inventory in Interior, Fort Langley and Nesqually

61 Cows
23 Bulls
29 Oxen and Steers
11 Heifers
46 Calves

and it must be taken into consideration that we require a Hundred Oxen to do the Work of the Farm and Saw Mill, and which is the reason we did not begin to Kill Cattle sooner.

16. I send you the account of the Produce¹ which the Farm Supplied the different places, exclusive of Rations to the men in '32, '33, '34, & '36, that of '35 has not been made up, in fact, we have so much to attend to, that we cannot make out several of these little accounts to be forwarded to you, though I thought it superfluous, as the accounts of the Dépôt appearing so different from that of any other Dépôt, that on examination, I thought it would be seen at once, that this favorable result was entirely owing to the produce of our Farm, and the Timber we sent to Oahu. The plan hitherto followed, has been to charge the wages of the men to the Dépôt, and give it the produce of the Saw Mill and Farm.

¹ This account has not been traced.

17. As to Distilling, I began to Distil in '33, but '36, finding the bad effects it had on our affairs I gave it over, and would recommend if possible never to attempt it again; we Distilled about 300 Galls.

18. As mentioned in the 15th Paragraph of mine of 20th March last to the Governor and Council at York, Mr. McLeod left this on 18th April with an Outfit, and proceeded to the American Rendezvouse which he reached on 28th June, on Green River, a Branch of the Rio Colorado, about 200 Miles S.E. of Salt Lake. On the 18th July the Americans arrived from St. Louis, when he was informed through Captain Thing, Mr. Wyeths Clerk, that Mr. Wyeth had given over the business, and given him power to sell out, but states nothing regarding the proposal he made to Your Honors, and he writes Captain Thing he would find further instructions at Vancouver. Captain thing offered Mr. McLeod at once to sell to the Hudsons Bay Company all Mr. Wyeth Goods &c. at a 100 p. Cent on Boston prices,

Fort Hall	1000 Dollars		
Traps	12	„	ea.
Horses	40	„	„ and his

Trappers advances at their valuation in the Books; Mr. McLeod very properly would not accept these terms as too high, and Captain Thing immediately sold his Traps and Horses to Fountenelle & Drips¹ at those prices, and brough[t] down his Furs here, and according to the offer you made him, I purchased his Goods &c. valuing them at our Importation of '36, and taking the Boston prime cost for such articles as we had not, and allowing him our Inventory advance as you offered, and putting no value on useless articles, (however to give us a claim on these last, when the accounts were made out, I gave him Fifty Dollars for them), Beaver $4\frac{1}{2}$ Dollars p. lb. (The Rocky Mountain price) on condition that he would take Five Hundred Dollars for Fort Hall and his Outstanding Debts, to be paid by Bills on Oahu, and if we have no funds there, to be paid by Bills on England, the Dollar to be valued

¹ Lucien Fontenelle and Andrew Drips of the American Fur Company.

at 4/2. But if these terms did not suit him, I offered him a passage for his effects and Furs to Oahu, on his paying freight, he accepted the offers I made him, and sold us all Mr. Wyeth Furs, Goods &c. as you see by the accompanying account,¹ and for which I will draw on the terms stated when we have closed his accounts, and he leaves this for Oahu.

19. Last year when Mr. McLeod arrived at the American Rendezvouse, a great number of the men, instigated we suppose by their Employers received Mr. McLeod very coolly, saying we were intruding on their Territory, and had no right to go there, and if it had not been for Major Piltcher,² who remembered the Politeness that had been shewn him in the Columbia, and at Red River by the Companys officers, immediately interfered, and stoped their proceedings, it is probably they would have proceeded to insult and violence; but this Year though he saw between 4 and 5 Hundred men, both Leaders and men were very polite to him. All the Leaders he saw there last year are Bankrupts except Fountenelle and Drips, who call themselves the American Fur Company, and who have engaged, or advanced Supplies to these men to hunt for them; the main party headed by Fountenelle is to endeavour to go to the Blackfoot Country, remainder of these men are dispersed to hunt South of the Colorado, except a few who are in the Youta Country, between the Salt Lake and the Colorado, in which direction a few of our Trappers have also gone. The Hunt collected by the Trappers equiped by the American Fur Company last year, was only 53 Packs 90 lb. ea. which Mr. McLeod Saw and Counted.

20. We have at present no Opposition in the Snake Country, and it will be seen by the Accounts, that though we have had to contend these three last years with Wyeth, and the other Americans in the Snake Country, and have made some give up the business, and made the others retreat out of the Country, still, we cleared on the Expedition under Mr. McKay, which was in immediate contact with them £997,

¹ This account has not been traced.

² Joshua Pilcher. See Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, I, 153.

besides paying for 160 Beaver Traps at 11/-, and 105 Horses at £2 each, which according to rule are not valued on Inventory. We made last year 34 Packs valued at £2,200, while the Americans with above Four Hundred Men only made 53 Packs, as already mentioned, Mr. McLeod saw and counted.

21. Mr. McLeod accomplished every object I had in view in sending to the American Rendezvouse, and after settling the business in the Snake Country, came here with Mr. McKay for a fresh supply of Goods which that Trade requires, in consequence of the unexpected withdrawing of Mr. Wyeth, and the other Americans from that part of the Country.

22. On the 14th May the *Nereide* arrived from the Coast, when she had to get some repairs, and on the 16th the American Brig *Diana* Captain Hinckly, by whome we received intelligence, that the *Hamilton* Captain Barker was gone to the Coast; Instead of sending the *Nereide* with a Cargo of Timber to Oahu as I last mentioned, I determined on sending her with Supplies to the coast, but when the Cargo for the Coast was on board the crew mutinied, as is fully detailed in the accompanying document,¹ and in consequence of this disturbance, she had to remain here until 17th June, and arrived at Fort McLoughlin on 18th July, at Fort Simpson 5th Augt. from whence She sailed on her return to this place 4th Septemr. but unfortunately she got aground on the 10th in crossing the Bar, as p. accompanying report,² and makes 1½ In. water p. hour; if she can be examined before the *Sumatra* sails, I will report further on her. If she is sound, she will be sent with a Cargo to Oahu; if she should require repairs beyond our means, we will be obliged to condemn her, but Captain Home thinks she is not much injured; though she was warped part of the way, she took 33 Days from Fort George to this place, being detained by calmns and head winds, I never saw since I am here, such a continuation of Easterly winds.

23. By the accounts received from the Coast by the *Nereide*, I am happy to inform you, every thing is going on as well as we can expect.

24. The *Lama* arrived from St. Francisco on the 14th May,

¹ See pp. 189-93.

² This report has not been traced.

but as she did not arrive in the proper season, Mr. Birnie made but a poor trade. On the 31st She sailed with a Cargo of Deals for Oahu; after unloading her cargo, she was transferred according to agreement to Captain Bancroft for \$5,500, which he was to have paid down on receiving the Vessel, but by Mr. Pelly's Letter of 10th Augt. received by the *Sumatra*, I see Captain Bancroft has only paid \$2750, and that Mr. Pelly has given him credit for the Balance for Four months, on which Captain Bancroft has promised to pay Interest at 1 p. cent. p. month, as you see by the copy of his Letter now forwarded.¹ It is not in my power to say, how far Mr. Pelly was justified in doing so, especially when he saw the advances already made him by us; but Captain Bancroft has an excellent character. I informed Governor Simpson and the Northern Council that I had sold the *Lama* to Captain Bancroft, and was to supply him with Provisions and a few Goods, to equip his Indians to hunt the Sea Otter on the coast of California, the Goods at an advance of 100 p. cent on prime cost, payable in Sea Otter at \$35 each, which for the present I consider the most effectual, cheapest and safest way of effecting the object you seem to wish, in regard to the Sea Otter hunt on the coast of California.²

¹ This letter has not been traced.

² A. 6/24, fos. 115d.-116, Governor and Committee to Douglas, November 15, 1837, "We are satisfied with the sale, that has been made, of the *Lama*, and hope to learn the purchase money has been paid. The arrangement made with Capt. Bancroft, in reference to the proposed voyage to California for the purpose of hunting the Sea Otter, we think promises well, if he be a man of character and respectability: the only risk we run is the loss of the Outfit and provisions, not exceeding three to four hundred pounds; We understand it was at one time contemplated to retain an interest in the vessel on behalf of the Company, and to make a copartnery transaction of the operation with Capt. Bancroft; that we should have much disapproved, as it would have been in direct opposition to our views, wishes and repeated instructions, which have been so explicit, in reference to entering into any divided or copartnery transactions, that we should have thought they would have prevented the most distant idea of such an arrangement." *Ibid.*, fo. 170, William Smith to Pelly, October 24, 1838, "You were not authorised to deliver the *Lama* to Capt. Bancroft without receiving payment in full, and such delivery should not have been made: the Governor and Committee therefore hold you liable for the remainder of the purchase money, and they recommend you to take immediate measures to secure it, by obtaining some guarantee from Capt. Bancroft for your own protection."

25. In consequence of the *Nereides* drawing too much water to enter Frasers River, I equipted the *Cadboro* and sent her there and Nisqually with the Outfits of the Two places, and brought back the Returns; on her return put Mr. Rae as Supercargo on board of her, and sent her to trade a cargo of Tallow at St. Francisco, I daily expect her arrival.

26. In regard to the Blankets of an Inferior quality at a reduction of 25 p. cent, on the prices on the same sized Blankets, mentioned in the 20th paragraph of Yours 20th Feby. '36, I beg to recommend, that no reduction be allowed in the quality of our Goods, as these Indians prefer to give a higher price for a good article, than to purchase an Inferior, at a cheaper rate¹; It must be kept in mind that the greater part of these Indians are to a very great extent independant of us, and that if an Opposition was to come with better Goods, it would get the Furs, and our Goods would remain on our hands.

27. In consequence of our not having the Vessel from England at our disposal this Summer, and obliged to send the *Nereide* to the coast, we will only send (if on examination the *Nereide* is able to take it) one cargo this season to Oahu.

28. As I had been led to believe by the 5th par. of Governor Simpsons Letter of 25th June '36, that the Vessel from England would be here in April, and seeing on the 14th July that she was not, I infered that she was lost, and wrote you on that date by the *Diana* Captain Hinckly, that if the Vessel from England was not here before 1st Octr. I would send the *Nereide* with the Returns to England, which I did in order that you might know our situation, and what we were doing, so as to be better able to decide on the measures necessary

¹ A. 6/24, fos. 12d.-13, Governor and Committee to McLoughlin, February 10, 1836, par. 20, "The great demand, in which British Manufactures and almost every other description of Merchandise have been for some time past, will account for the advance in price, that has taken place on many of the goods. . . . The advance that has taken place in Woollens, particularly in the article of Blankets is very seriously felt, and has induced Govr. Simpson to recommend that a few inferior Blankets be sent out by next Vessel, by way of experiment at a reduction of about 25 p. Cent, on the prices of the same sized Blankets of the usual quality."

to be adopted, and I beg to recommend, that as Governor Simpson has already mentioned, that the vessel be dispatched from England, in time to be here in March or beginning of April.

29. The *Diana* was chartered by some Methodist Missionaries, to bring them from Oahu to this place, to join their friends in the Willamette, she entered the River on the 11th May, and left this 14th July; during her stay here her crew were employed giving her a repair, and I am not aware that in any instance, the captain or crew interfered with our trade.

30. I beg to suggest to Your Honors, if it would not be advisable to fix a date (say 15th Octr.) at which, if the vessel from England was not arrived here, it would be proper if we had the means to send the Furs to England, as unless this is done, we will not know when to send them, and the Furs might remain in the Country.

31. Though we have a large quantity of Timber at our Saw Mill, yet, as we could not bring it here but by rafting it, which would wet it, and it would not be in the state you wish, therefore as you direct, I send none.

32. I send you my reply to your 17th Paragraph on a separate sheet,¹ in case you find necessary to produce it, but I beg further to state, that in making out the cost of the Stikine Expedition, I cannot make it out accurately, as we have not the accounts to enable us to do so, for instance, it is not possible for me to say, the exact amount of the expences incurred in bringing people from Montreal or England to this place, and I therefore made a charge according to my idea of the Subject, which I think not far wrong, yet, I always thought these accounts would be examined and corrected; in such a case as the one alluded to in mine of 22nd March '35, I wrote, "Though I am well aware that your Honors do not require an estimate of this Kind from me, or such details, still, as I am on the spot, I consider it but right that I should point them out", in fact, the Documents sent home afforded full means to make these accounts, but as the details forming the different

¹ Pp. 187-9.

items must be better known to us, I thought sending home the Document I did, would facilitate making out the account in England, and prevent any charge being omitted.

33. Mr. Manson and Captain McNeill arrived here on the 26th Inst. having left the Steamer at Nisqually, and I regret to state, Mr. Manson enjoys very poor health, which is the cause of his visiting this place, but I am happy to hear that Mr. Work is well, and no opposition on the coast.

34. Captain McNeill according to instructions examined the north end of Vancouvers Island, and says in about Lat. 48, he found an excellent harbour, of easy access with good anchorage, surrounded by a plain of several miles in extent, of an excellent Soil, and intersected with a number of Rivulets; from his account it appears to be an excellent place for tillage and Graising, but would require to be more particularly examined before we could rely on it.

35. It is impossible for me to write you what will be done next year, as that depends on the instructions received from York, but if it remains with me, our people will go again next Year to the American Rendezvouse, and Establish a Small Post, or Trading party in the Youta country.

36. This Spring as our people was coming from Thompsons River to Okanagan, the Indians stole a Horse from them; Mr. Black sent a party after them who overtook the thieves, and made them give up the Horse, but as the man was receiving the Horse, he pulled the halter roughly from the Indian who held him; another Indian called out not to give up the Horse, immediately on which several shots were fired, and an Indian killed, but neither can say who fired first. On receiving intelligence of this, Mr. Black started with all his people to meet the Caledonia Brigade, on whome Mr. Black justly feared the Indians would attempt to revenge the death of their Countryman. Mr. Black met Mr. Ogden and his party, as he was arriving where the Indians were waiting him, when a Battle ensued, one of our men Killed, and Mr. Blacks Horse shot under him, and the firing ceased; in this instance also neither party can say who fired first, but I am happy to say, that our people were not molested in passing this Summer on

their return to the Interior, and that the intercourse between our People and these Indians, is apparently on the former amicable footing.

37. By last accounts from the Interior I received intelligence that the Blackfeet Indians have killed Five of our Trappers in the Flat Head country, this incursion of the Blackfeet will greatly injure the Trade of the Flat Head Post.

38. I have drawn on Your Honors the following Bills

No. 68	17th Augt. '37	Donald McLeod	£12
„ 69	27th Oct. '37	John Robinson	7
„ 70	„ „ '37	Wm. H. McNeill	5
			<hr/>
			24

39. I would be extremely happy as you desire it, to have gone home in the *Sumatra* if my health would permit it, but it is not in that state to allow me undertake so long a sea voyage, which I much regret, as besides the pleasure of seeing you, and hearing your views, and Explaining you mine in regard to the Columbia Department, I would have had an opportunity of attending to my own affairs. I Remain

Your Honors

Most Ob. Hum. Servant

(Signed) JOHN McLoughlin.

Fort Vancouver 2nd Novemr. '37.¹

To The Governor, Deputy Governor
& Committee Hudsons Bay Compy.

HONBLE. SIRS,

The party I mentioned in the 20th Paragraph of mine 20th March,² that went for Cattle, I am this moment informed

¹ B. 223/b/18, fo. 5d.

² Neither the original letter belonging to the A. 11 series, nor the copy belonging to the B. 223/b series has been found. See p. 137-8, n. 3.

are returned, they brought it is said Five Hundred head, and had great difficulty to do so, though they were Twenty five men, it is said they lost Two Hundred on the way. Forseeing you would wish to send for Cattle, and to prevent our Trappers being tampered with if there was opposition, not knowing but Wyeth might return, I desired Laframboise to be on the 15th May in Trenidad Bay, and if he had found a place to hunt, he was to be equiped for that object, but to examine the Country going along, and if he had found no place to hunt, he would have to bring a band of Cattle with his party, which consists of Thirty men, and they are the only People we have qualified for such an undertaking, or disposable, if as said, they have found no place to hunt, as I presume it is not your desire to loose the chance of a valuable hunt from Thirty men, for to bring about Six Hundred head of Cattle, however as soon as we can, we will get them.

I Am,

Your Honors
Most Ob. Humble Servt.
(Signed) JOHN McLoughlin

Fort Vancouver 11th Jan. 1838¹

To The Governor and Committee
H.H.B.Co.

HONBLE. SIR

I have this day drawn on Mr. Pelly the Company's agent at Oahu for £1541. 1. 2 Sterling in favor of Nathaniel Wyeth Esq. of Boston agent for the Columbia River and fishing Company and in the event of his not having sufficient funds the Balance is to be paid by draft on your Honors for which

¹ B. 223/b/18, fo. 17.

purpose I forward Blank Bills of Exchange in which the amount will be inserted by Mr. Pelly and of which he is instructed to advise you.

Honble. Sir

Your Most ob. Servant

(Signed) JOHN McLOUGHLIN

Montreal 1st *Augst.* 1838¹

To the Governor Deputy Governor and Committee
Honble. Hudson Bay Company

HONBLE. SIRs

I Beg to inform your Honors I arrived here to day at 1 P.M. having left Fort Vancouver 22nd March, Norway house 22nd June, Red River settlement 29th June—the small Pox was still raging among the Plain tribes. But as Vaccination is now introduced among them and as all about the Establishments have been Vaccinated It cannot spread among the strong Wood Indians—the Returns of the plain posts are not so Good as those of Outfit 1836. Indeed none of the posts on this side of the Mountains with the Exception of Cumberland and Swan River where Rats were very abundant (We had no accounts this spring from Athabaska) have as Good Returns as outfit 1836—the Returns of the Columbia are in value £2000 more than the preceeding year—But the profit less in consequence of the Increased Expence on the shipping. It is with sorrow I have to inform you that Capt. Home and four Seamen were Drowned in January last in crossing the columbia from Point Ellice to Fort George.² In Every other Respect the Business goes on in the usual Way—several of the Red River

¹ A. 10/7.

² Cf. Appendix A, pp. 276-7.

settlers left it this spring for the states; the Crops could not be said to have a Good appearance. I Intend to start for England in the Great Western steam Boat¹ which some say will sail on the 9th Instant—But others again say she will only sail on the 16th.

I am

Honble. Sirs

Your obedient

Humble servant

JOHN McLoughlin

P.S. Capt. Home and his four Sailors were Drowned in the same place where Gov. Simpson and I had an Alarm in 1824.²

J. McLoughlin

Paris no. 8 Rue de La paix
8th Sept. 1838³

To The Governor Deputy Governor
and Committee Hudson Bay Co. London

GENTLEMEN

I have this Day Drawn on you in duplicate at three days sight in favour of M. Daly Esq. for the sum of fifty pounds sterling which please pay and charge to account of

Honble. Sir

Your Obedient

Humble Servant

JOHN McLoughlin

¹The *Great Western*, of 1440 tons, was built to inaugurate a regular trans-Atlantic steam-ship service, in continuation of the Great Western Railway. She sailed from Bristol in 1838 and made her passage to New York in fifteen days, being beaten by the *Sirius* by only a few hours. The *Great Western* marks the end of the experimental period in the crossing of the Atlantic by steam-driven vessels.

² Cf. Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 92-3.

³ A. 10/7.

Paris 13th Sept. 1838
Rue de La Paix No. 8¹

To The Governor Deputy Governor and Committee
H.H. Bay Co. No. 3 Fen Church Street London

HONBLE. SIRS

I have this day drawn in favour of Mrs. Catherine O'Gorman² for the sum of ten pounds sterling which please pay and charge to

Your Humble Servant
JOHN McLoughlin

Paris Rue de La Paix No. 8
16 Sept. 1838³

Wm. Smith Esq.

MY DEAR SIR

I have this moment received yours of the 15th Instant⁴ accompanied by Mess. Laurie Hamilton & Co. communication of the 14th in Reply to which I have to observe that the 9/8 White Bleached British Cottons Ea. 18 yds. 700 ps. Ea.

¹ A. 10/7.

² Mrs. O'Gorman was living at Gillingham, Kent, in May, 1840. McLoughlin made the following payments to her :

1838, April	23	£25	1841, Dec.	28	£10
Sept.	25	£10	1842, April	4	£10
1839, July	10	£10	Aug.	2	£10
Sept.	25	£10	Sept.	29	£10
Dec.	24	£10	1843, Jan.	10	£10
1840, Oct.	28	£40	March	22	£10

Payments were still being made in 1847. The archives throw little light on her relationship to McLoughlin, but in a letter to William Smith, dated March 17, 1843 (A. 10/16), she described herself as his daughter.

³ A. 10/7.

⁴ *Ibid.*

7/9 ought to be 36 Inches Wide Stout fabric—that sent in 1835 was rather thin

Cottons 6/4 Blue & Red Stripe $\frac{1}{2}$ Blue $\frac{1}{2}$ Red $\frac{1}{2}$ p. yd.
2600 yds.

Cottons 6/4 Blue & Red Stripe $\frac{1}{2}$ Blue $\frac{1}{2}$ Red $\frac{1}{6}$ p. yd.
1600 yds.

are such as we used to Receive at 11*d.* and 14*d.* p. yd. But we wish these now Requested to be of a better quality—therefore they have been Invoiced at a higher price. It is desired they Be Striped Red and Blue 9/8 White Shirting. I do not know its Exact Breadth. It is for sale to servants, Cotton Shirting 6/4 Stripe Small—Blue Stripe 600 yds. Invoice price $\frac{1}{2}$ p. yd. this is the article usually sent at 12*d.* p. yd. 46 In. Wide, the Increased price in the Requisition is to shew that we wish to have it of a Better Quality.

I am

My Dear Sir

Yours truly

JOHN McLoughlin

London 13 Nov. 1838¹

To The Governor Deputy Governor
and Committee Honble. H.B. Co.

HONBLE. SIRS

I purchased Goods for Archd. McDonald Esq. to the Amount of five pounds seven shillings and nine pence as p. account forwarded with the Goods copy of which is Enclosed. May I Request you will be pleased to order the Amount to be re imbursed me on account of Archibald McDonald Esqr. and

I am

Your Honors

most Obedient

humble Servant

JOHN McLoughlin

¹ A. 10/7.

24 Nov. 1838¹

William Smith Esqr.
No 3 Fenchurch St. London

MY DEAR SIR

I Beg to return you the two Maps² As Unless done in
cases they will not answer

am

Yours truly

JOHN McLoughlin

with a parcel

Brooking

Old Broad Street

24th Nov. 1838³

Mr. McLoughlin would be much obliged to Mr. Smith if he
sent the Enclosed⁴ according to address by one of his Mes-
sengers.

¹ A. 10/7.

² These maps have not been identified.

³ A. 10/7.

⁴ The contents of the enclosure are unknown.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

SUPPLEMENTARY DOCUMENTS

(I) *ADDITIONAL DISPATCHES*

From John McLoughlin Esqr. to George Simpson Esqr.
dated Fort Vancouver 16th March 1831¹

DEAR SIR

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the Receipt of your dispatch of 13 July 1830 which was handed me by Mr. Harriott on the morning of the 2d Novbr., and beg to return you and the members of the Council my thanks for the approbation you express of my Conduct, and at the same time to assure you that my endeavors will be exerted to promote the interest of the Concern to the utmost of my abilities.

2. As in my letters to their Honors of the 11th of October and 24th of Novbr. I did myself the Honor to give them an account of the occurrences and proceedings at this place up to the latter date and to which I beg to refer you and will only observe here that the loss of the *Isabella* was neither owing to stress of weather nor to any difficulty in entering the Columbia but merely to Captn. Ryans making a mistake and taking a wrong channel.

3. It is unnecessary for me to state to you the derangement this misfortune occasioned: but I have to observe that in consequence of the chastisement the Clatsops received in 1829 from Mr. Connolly and party the Indians about Fort George behaved remarkably well, assisted us to save the Cargo, and tho' we dried it on the Island where the vessel was wrecked, which I was affraid at the time would have been attended with some serious quarrel (we had no alternative but to run the risk or lose the property) I am happy to say we dried it without having any difficulty with them.

¹ D. 4/125, fos. 77-9.

4. When the *Eagle* left this, the fever had decreased and I then expected to have been able to have sent the *Dryad* with a part of the establishment and to send the remainder p. *Vancouver* after the arrival of the express: but the fever returned with increased violence and the crews of the Vessels and people at this Place were so weak that I did not think it prudent to follow up my intentions even after the arrival of the express from York, and sent the *Dryad* to Monterey with a Cargoe of deals and 60 Barrels of Salmon, and the *Vancouver* to Woahoo with a Cargo of Deals.

5. On the 11th instant I had the pleasure to see Capt. Simpson arrive having left the *Dryad* and *Vancouver* (the last mentioned entered the River at the same time with the *Dryad*) opposite Fort George, and you will see by the accompanying documents that we can only expect our deals to be paid in hides and Tallow. Mr. Vermond wrote to Capt. Simpson that the only way in which business is done along the South American Coast is by barter as money is so very scarce.

6. Mr. Charlton says the demand for Deals is reviving in Woahoo and I have no doubt as the high price induced the Americans to ship deals from America, that as soon as it is generally known that we supply the market with that article they will drop the business.

7. You see that Mr. Charlton offers to freight our Vessel on her way home at £6 10. p. Ton, and I feel very much at a loss what to do, I know that the late Capt. Davidson of the *Dryade* told me he was at liberty to take a cargo of hides on his homeward bound voyage: but I am afraid hides will injure our furs, and on that account will not accept his offer, but thank him for the attention he shewed in making it: Will you please clear my doubts on this subject, and let me know whether I ought or not to accept such an offer, as besides the danger to our Furs, is it proper to allow strangers have so much to do with our Vessel, as we must when we carry freight for them.

8. Mr. Hartnell of Monterey has sent an offer to sell Goods Deals & ca. for us in Upper California at a Commission of 10 p.c. on the Sales which is to cover all his expences in travelling to

the different Missions, saying 10 years experience in the business was worth something: but as I do not consider myself authorized to enter on the business on such a scale (nor besides would I advise it) By the first opportunity I will return him a sealed list of Goods which he sent (and was to have been opened if his terms were accepted) politely thank him for his offer and tell him that it is not the intention of the Honble. Company to enter on such a business.

9. The American opposition left us in July, still it was not thought prudent to enhance the price of Goods till January when at this place on account of its effects in the Interior, we raised the price of $2\frac{1}{2}$ pt. Blankets to 2 made Beaver but at Fort George (where Mr. Manson passed the Winter with 5 Men) we continue to sell at one made Beaver p. Blanket in case if we returned to the old prices, and a Coaster came, the Indians there would encourage him to remain.

10. Mr. Ermatingers Woman ran away with an Indian last Spring and he sent Leolo the Interpreter after her, and desired him to punish the Indian by cutting the tip of his ear, which he did, and though in the civilized world such an act will appear harsh, and on that account it would be preferable, that he had resorted to some other mode of punishment; still if the Indian had not been punished it would have lowered the Whites in their estimation, as among themselves they never allow such an offence to pass unpunished: however to prevent further difficulties on this subject I kept Mr. Ermatinger here and appointed Mr. Black to Thompsons river and Mr. Barnston to Walla Walla and Mr. Work succeeded Mr. Ogden in charge of the Snake party.

11. On the 8th instt. I received accounts from Mr. Work up to the 18th Novbr. which I forward, and by which you see, he has had the misfortune to lose of his Party, one of them Pierre L'Etang, by whose death we have lost one of the best Men in this department.

12. It is impossible to say where the present Snake party will hunt 1831/32 and it can only be ascertained when they return, the lands laying north of the Flatheads which Mr. Work mentioned I believe are on the East side of the Mountains

and if south of 49 we can not go there, and if north of 49 I think we ought not to go. But it is certain the Snake country is getting nearly exhausted, and the new Country between this and St. Francisco does not afford employment for a party sufficiently strong to protect themselves.

13. On the arrival of the Express finding ourselves with a large Party of Men, I got the wood for a saw Mill squared at the Falls of the Willamette on the spot you and I selected, and at our present Saw Mill (besides furnishing the Wood required for this place) we have a Cargo of Deals ready for exportation, and with which we will act according to circumstances, and will have another Cargo, by the time the Vessel is ready to return home.

14. The Returns of this Place I am sorry to say are less than those of last year, but you will please to observe, that the Indians exerted themselves more than usual in 1829/30 in consequence of the reduction of the price of Goods.

15. Our Crop though the extraordinary height of the Water injured it very much

1260 Bushels	Wheat	5/	£315.	—	—
183	„		27.	9.	—
583	„		189.	9.	—
600	„		125.	—	—
9000	„				
40 Tierces	Pork	140/	280.	—	—
			<u>£946.</u>	<u>18.</u>	<u>—¹</u>

and which will be sufficient to supply all our wants and enable us to give the new Establishment a full stock of provisions for one year.

16. You will perceive the Produce of the Farm is only valued at its prime Cost, but in estimating it to the Concern we must take into consideration the freight it saves us, and it has been raised at no expence, except in a few iron works, as, if the people had not been doing that, they would have been unemployed.

17. You will see that this year the loss of life has been very great in the Columbia and amounts in all to 26 Men.

¹ The error in addition occurs in the original.

18. As soon as the Vessels are ready, they will be dispatched with the party to establish Nass, and prosecute the Coasting Trade, and our Attention will be employed to fulfil their Honors and your instructions to the utmost of our abilities.

19. On the evening of the 18th Instt. we had the pleasure to receive Mr. Chief Trader McDonalds dispatch, which is forwarded for your information.

20. Mr. C.Trader McLeod has applied to be allowed to go to York and his request has been acceded to.

21. Mr. Sinclair you will recollect gave notice last year of his intention to retire from the Service, but consents to remain in expectation that he will be allowed an increase of wages and if not granted he wishes to go out next Spring.

22. Mr. McKay wishes to be allowed leave of absence for One year to pay a visit to the civilized world.

23. Mr. Annance came here last fall with the intention of going to York factory this Spring, but on my representing to him, that such a proceeding would be equivalent to a resignation of his situation in the service, he consented to remain and requests to be permitted to pay a visit to York.

24. Mr. Michl. Laframboises engagement is expired and he asked me £80. per annum; I told him I could give him no increase on his present terms and that I could only recommend him to your consideration, at the same time I gave him distinctly to understand that I did not think his terms would be acceded to, and with this explanation he remains for the Year.

Mr. James Douglas goes with the accounts, whom I hope you will allow to return, and I beg to refer you to him and to the accounts for any further information relative to him and to the accounts for any further information relative to the transactions of this place. I have the honor to be

Sir

Yr. most obedt. h.Servt.

sign'd JOHN McLoughlin

Fort Vancouver 20th Octr. 1831¹

To The Govr. Deputy Govr. and Committee HHB Coy.

HONBLE SIRS

1. I have the pleasure to inform your Honors that the *Ganymede* safely entered the Columbia River on² and reached this place but I am sorry to say that her cargo is much damaged as you will see by the accompanying account and I beg to suggest that the Iron Knees of the Vessels coming here be cased in wood as the Dunnage in general gets loose and wherever the Bale Goods come in contact with the Iron the rust damages the Goods but in the present Instance the greatest injury the Goods received was from Leaks in the Deck some Bales were entirely rotten and all those left in London by the *Dryad* were damaged.

2. In compliance with your Instructions I have had the pleasure to deliver Mr. Works commission to him and send you the covenant which he executed.

3. On the 13th June the Brigade safely arrived from the Interior but I am sorry to say that on their way to their Winter Grounds at the foot of the Cascades one of the Boats upset in the first Rapids by which accident two men in the Boat were unfortunately Drowned and the Cargo lost.

4. On the th April³ the *Dryad* Capt. Simpson and *Vancouver* Capt. Ryan sailed for the NWst Coast and had as passengers Mr. Ogden and party for the New Establishment of Fort Simpson and by the arrival of the *Vancouver* Capt.

¹ This letter is transcribed from a letter-book of McLoughlin's deposited in the Library of Reed College, Portland, Oregon. It is probable that the book was used for draft letters, from which fair copies were made later. Some parts of the letter here printed were undoubtedly written by McLoughlin himself. The Society is deeply indebted to Dr. Burt Brown Barker, of the University of Oregon, and to Mr. Simeon Winch, of Portland, a great-great-grandson of McLoughlin, for their ready courtesy in allowing a transcript to be made of this letter.

² There is no document in the Company's archives from which this date can be established.

³ McLoughlin's instructions to Simpson, dated April 10, 1831, are in B. 223/b/7, fo. 1.

Ryan I received the Melancholly account of the death of Capt. Simpson who died after an Illness of thirteen days of an Inflammation of the Liver. By his death the concern loses the services of a man anxious to promote Its Interests to the utmost of his abilities and I suffer the loss of an acquaintance whose Gentlemanlike conduct and zealous discharge of his duty entitled him to my Respect and Esteem, and though his death at all times would be a loss Still in the present situation of our affairs It is particularly so.

5. The best that we can now do in my opinion is to attatch the coasting Trade to Fort Simpson & give Mr. C-T. Ogden charge of the two and Mr. Manson can take charge of Fort Simpson during Mr. Ogdens occasional absence on his trading excursions. Mr. Duncan whom you order to be sent home Mr. Ogden left in charge of the *Dryad*. But as he has been on the coast with Capt. Simpson and has acquired some Knowledge of the nature of the Business he will do to command the *Vancouver* and Capt. Kipling can take charge of the *Dryad*. but if the *Dryad* enters the River (which I do not expect) before the *Ganymede* sails Mr. Duncan will go home and Mr. Purchase will Remain, Mr. Sinclair will Keep charge of the *Cadboro*.

6. The Plan I suggested to the late Capt. Simpson was to employ the two Schooners constantly on the coast and the Brig in transporting the supplies to Forts Simpson and Langley either of the Schooners is too small for this purpose, and if time permitted also to Trade on the coast in the Winter the Brig was to have gone to the coast of Mexico or Peru with a load of Salmon and Deals but I do not now know if we will be able this season to follow up this plan as the late Capt. Simpson had been so Successfull this year for the short time he had been on the coast say two months and saw so strong an opposition on it (say four Vessels) that he had determined to remain there during the winter and I had left the decision to himself (as it was impossible for me at this place to foresee how he might be situated) and Mr. Ogden also approves of this measure. It is consequently out of my power to Inform your Honors which Vessel will be sent to the South or if we

will have it in our power to send any this year as we must devote our first attention to the Coasting trade. But I still think the plan I suggested the late Capt. Simpson as I Already Mentioned will be found to Answer best. When there is Opposition the Schooners can divide to accompany it and serve for that purpose as well as a larger Vessel. When there is no Opposition the two schooners can Keep Company to Visit those places where the Natives are hostile—and separate when they can do so with safety and Mr. Ogden writes me that the Natives of Nass have so far comported themselves as well as any Indians that he ever saw Yet these very Indians have been represented to us as the most troublesome and hostile tribe to deal with on the Coast But Mr. Ogden and the late Captain Simpson (as I see by his Journal) complain of the Great quantity of Liquor Ammunition and Arms sold them by the Americans and we must do the same or abandon the trade—and I certainly wish for my part that means could be found to put a stop to the sale of Liquor to Indians (and also of Arms and Ammunition to those on the N.W. Coast—as they do not absolutely require them to procure their food) as Besides the Actual Injury Liquor does them I will say as far as my Experience goes that it is injurious to the Regular trader and Only Advantageous to An Opposition as being liberal in Liquor is the Easiest—Cheapest and quickest means—It has to acquire influence over Indians.

7. Mr. Ogden writes the Post of Fort Simpson has no direct Water communication with the Interior—no Ground about it to make a Garden and that very little Provisions can be procured from the Natives But the late Capt. Simpson Discovered the Entrance of a Large River (Named Stikene by the Natives) at Point Rothsay—the Natives of which told him there was an Establishment of our people on the Head Waters of it—We suppose it is BaBine Fort to which they Allude—and Capt. Simpson was also informed there was a large River in Burroghs Bay.

8. The *Ganymede* has been detained longer here than you could have Expected—In consequence I am sorry to say of our being again this year afflicted with the remittent fever

which broke out in July and Every man on this Establishment except seven has been ill at One time there were sixty three Patients on the sick list in this number were Capt. Kipling his two Mates and seven of the Crew—Indeed all the Crew that came in her except one have been ill. some of the Patients have had relapses. some had three Attacks and some even four in this latter Number is the Carpenter of the *Ganymede* and she has been caulked and repaired by the people of the Establishment. Indeed her Cargo has been mostly put on Board by the people of this place as I am of opinion if those of her Crew who have been ill were to Work they would relapse and we have to thank God for his Great Mercies that none of our people have as yet died of the fever and all still ill are on the Recovery But the Mortality has been very great among the Indians—from Oak point to the Dalles.

9. As Captain Ryan is a Married man and Captain Kipling is a Batchelor I considered it necessary to ask Captain Ryan if he intended to continue in the service at the Expiration of his present Agreement he replied he wished to go home in 1832 but if his services were required he would remain till 1833. In this case as we would lose his services when he would become best qualified to transact our Business—and we would have again to Instruct a Novice It is more Advantageous to us to Allow him to go home now and And Accordingly he exchanges with Capt. Kipling And it is with pleasure, I avail myself of the Opportunity to report to your Honors that Captain Ryan is attentive to his Duty careful of his Vessel and of the property entrusted to his Charge—and I beg to recommend him to your Honors as a person better qualified to take charge of a Vessel coming here than a Stranger—Capt. Kipling from his Ignorance of the River took a long time to come up—And Indeed it may be the cause of the *Ganymede's* long delay here as had she got up quickly we would perhaps have been able to despatch her before the fever raged with the violence it afterwards did.

10. I consign to Mr Charlton by the present conveyance a Cargo of Deals—Rafters and Oak as pr. Accompany Account I also forward his last letter to me and my Answer

and our Account with him—and you will observe he has yet to account for the Cargo sent by the *Vancouver*.

11. I Also forward a letter and Memorandum received from Capt. Cole offering to sell us a Brig and furnish us some supplies and my Answer the only Articles he proposes to supply of any importance to us (and that is on Account of the freight) are Rice Molasses Sugar and Tea—I say on Account of the freight as perhaps one Vessel may not be able to bring all we may want—But in my Opinion it is unnecessary at present to Enter into any Contract of that Kind—

12. I offer to purchase Capt. Coles Brig for Deals and I am Induced to do so by having the Means to pay her on hand—And that she would be a Stand By in case of Accident to the *Dryade*—or be Employed in Opening a Market for timber to the South—or on the coast if required as Taylor who commands her is perfectly acquainted with the Coast and would be useful to us for the present in that Branch of our Business.

13. Our Crop of Wheat Pease and Barley is rather greater than usual But our Indian Corn and Potatoes are less owing to the Want of Rain in the Summer and in consequence of the Sickness less of our Grain is threshed than usual at this season.

14. I Much regret that Dr. Kennedy has given notice of his Intention to retire from the Service at the Expiration of his present contract—as he is very Attentive to his Duty and anxious to make himself as useful as he possibly can I beg to observe that if not Already provided It will be necessary to procure two Medical Men for this Department—One for this place and the other for Fort Simpson.

15. You see by Mr. Charltons letter that Messrs. Jones and French offer to freight the *Ganymede* with Hides to England which I have authorized Capt. Ryan to take—or any other freight he can get as I conceive there can be no danger of its injuring the furs as the Box in which they are is well caulked and pitched.

16. Dennison and Robson the Carpenters go home the first the Naval Gentlemen found of so disagreeable a temper that in April he was put of Work with the Intention of Sending him home on the first opportunity—but gave him his usual

allowance of provisions but stopt his liquor on the *Ganymedes* arrival I put him to Work on her—Robson was on Board the *Cadboro* and at Fort Langley Capt. Sinclair having ordered that none of the crew should leave the Vessel—One of the men Malcom persisting to go on shore in spite of the Mate Mr Mr Scarborough—Captain Sinclair determined to leave the man on shore But the Crew came forward with Robson as spokesman and said if Malcom was sent on shore they would all go—Inconsequence of this Captain Sinclair was obliged to take the men Back as he could not navigate the Vessel without the Crew—But on his arrival here—I exchanged his crew for part of the *Ganymede*—and placed Robertson (as he had made himself conspicuous as a Leader) with the Landsmen of the fort and gave him only their provisions that is fish Venison or Game when their is any and when their is none—one quart of Indian Corn or pease with two ounces Grease pr. Day—this has been the Regular Rations of the place since first Established and Indeed one quart of Corn and two ounces of Grease pr. Day is the Regular Daily Rations of that Kind of provisions wherever it is used throughout the Indian Country and we have exchanged as many of the old hands as we could so as hereafter we may be able to Keep up our Establishment by exchanging those it may be necessary to send home or who wish to go home with those who come out by the annual Ship

I have the Honor to be Honbl. Sirs

Your &c. &c.

Signed JOHN McLoughlin

PS.¹ I beg to State to your Honors that on Capt. Simpsons return last spring from the South he informed me he was highly pleased with Mr. Duncans conduct and Mr. Ogden writes me he expressed himself in the same terms of approbation on his return from the coast. I consider it my duty in Justice to Mr. Duncan to report this to your honors as last year I had the unpleasant task to state what then occurred.

J. McL.

¹ This postscript was originally written in the last paragraph of the text, but was then deleted.

Fort Vancouver 18th Octr. 1838¹

From James Douglas
To the Governor Deputy Governor and Committee
Hon. Hudsons Bay Comy.

HONBLE. SIRS

On the 29th of May last, I received, by the Barque *Columbia*, your Dispatch dated 15th November 1837, together with the Invoice of Goods shipped, and the other accompanying Papers as pr. Packet List.

2. I have perused that Dispatch with much attention, and have failed to observe, neither, the remarks upon the present state of the business, nor your instructions for its prospective management. These instructions will receive implicit attention, and, in all matters to which they relate, form the basis of our future measures: they are in fact in close accordance with my own views, so that, in carrying them out into practice, I only act consistently with opinions, derived from the protracted experience of years. With the sincerest desire, however, of conforming, in all points of business, to your expressed wishes, I fear, that amid the growing relations of this District untried contingencies may demand the application of instant and vigorous remedies, and should these appear inconsistent with prescribed rules, I trust your Honors will accept my explanations, and believe that such measures were influenced, by sounder motives, than the mere rage of innovation.

3. I intend in the course of the present letter, to bring every branch of the business, successively, under review, and will hereafter, find occasion to notice some important subjects mentioned in your Dispatch, relative to the general state of affairs, while in the mean time, I will enter upon such incidental matters of minor import, as will not probably be again introduced.

4. The unfortunate death of the late Captain Home, communicated to the Governor and Council in March 1838, has disappointed your liberal intentions, with respect to that very

¹ B. 223/b/20, fos. 2-28d.

promising Officer; but I informed Captn. McNeill of your favourable opinion, and pointed out the obstacle that opposed his promotion to a higher rank in the service; and I have now the pleasure of stating that he assents to the terms proposed, and will gladly return to the Country and allegiance of his forefathers, as soon as your Honors enable him, to take the necessary steps.

5. I delivered to Chief Factor Black and Chief Trader Manson their respective commissions and now forward the indentures executed in the required forms.

6. I regret that technical inaccuracy or inattention to legal forms, should have invalidated Alexander Carsons Will. His compact with Canning is a circumstance well known to many persons here, and it is certain that he intended to dispose of his property according to the provisions of that deed. The parties are from the United States, and joined the Fur Trade upwards of 20 years ago. They have since maintained no correspondence with their families, and I believe are not known to a relative on earth, so that in the absence of a Will there is no prospect of the money being ever claimed. I forward a certificate No. 2 which may remove or greatly modify the objections taken to the Will and I really wish that it may enable your Honors, without incurring liability, to pay the funds over to the legatee, a singularly obstinate and suspicious old man, who will not readily admit the force of legal distinctions.

7. No. 3 is a report of William Browns case, drawn up from memory: it contains every particular favourable to Brown, but is probably deficient in some points, that might render the expediency of Dr. McLoughlin's conduct more apparent. I furnish this report without considering myself, in any manner, affected by the details it exhibits, and, I am confident that your Honors hold me responsible for my own conduct alone, and not for the acts of my predecessors in office.

8. I am most anxious to second your views, for suppressing the traffic of slaves, and have taken some steps towards the attainment of that object. I regret, however, that the state of feeling among the Natives of this river, precludes every prospect of the immediate extinction of slavery, unless we resort to

the very objectionable plan of a forcible emancipation. With the Natives, I have hitherto endeavoured to discourage the practice by the exertion of moral influence alone, carefully avoiding direct collision either with their selfish feelings or inveterate prejudices, as I do not feel justified in exposing our interests to the shock of excitement and desperate animosity which more active measures, on our part, might provoke. Against our own people, I took a more active part, and denounced slavery as a state contrary to law; tendering to all unfortunate persons held as slaves, by British subjects, the fullest protection in the enjoyment of their natural rights. I, soon after, seized a favourable opportunity, of putting the law in force, by rescuing a runaway slave boy, who had been overtaken by his pursuers and brought here for punishment. He has since enjoyed his liberty, and served the company as a free labourer. These proceedings, so clearly destructive of the principle of slavery, would have roused a spirit of resistance, in any people, who know the value of liberty; but I am sorry, that the effect has been scarcely felt here, and I fear that all my efforts have virtually failed in rooting out the practical evil, even within the precincts of this settlement. Of the persons ranking as slaves, some are children of tender age, others have grown up in ignorance of every useful art, whether of civilized or savage life, by which they might have earned an independent livelihood, and all classes are so destitute and friendless, that they have, without exception, chosen the part of continuing with their present protectors. To have urged a forcible separation, in such circumstances, I must have provided them gratuitously, with food and clothing, as their spiritless labour is of no value to the Company, and I feel reluctant to turn them loose into the forest, without any means of support. The plan I now follow, of considering every person without distinction, residing on our premises as free British subjects, who may, at any time, under the Company's protection, assert the exercise of their absolute and legal rights, will greatly mitigate the evils of slavery, by operating as a security against abuse, and making affection the only bond that supports the immoral system.

9. The Church and School have been fully engaged in promoting moral and religious improvement, by diffusing the seeds of sound principles, and virtuous habits among the members of our own little community, and to a portion of the Native population. Their efforts have not been entirely fruitless, although the effect produced is not of so decided a character as to enable me to speak very confidently with reference to our future prospects.

The juvenile school continues in active operation, exerting on the youth who attend it a powerful and salutary influence, which will become more conspicuous as they advance in years, and attain rank and controul over the society around them. The attention of the Revd. Mr. Beaver to the duties of his office, has been exemplary, and I think he has succeeded in awakening, a more general desire for religious knowledge, among the persons of his communion, than existed previously to his arrival. His professional exertions have been unavoidably limited by the multitude of languages Native & Foreign that flourish here, placing almost insuperable obstacles in the way of religious Teachers, and, in a great measure, preventing that general acquaintance, and benevolent intercourse, with the lower classes, which, without degrading, so greatly extends the power & efficiency of the Clergy. While on the subject of morals, I may also mention, that a Sunday School, conducted by Dr. Tolmie, who kindly volunteered his services, was opened last winter, for the instruction of the Natives, which they attended in great numbers. The weekly lectures were delivered in the Native language, & conveyed some idea of the Divine Attributes, the certainty of a future state of retribution, the moral and social duties of man, illustrated by such familiar and striking images as were most likely to make an impression upon the minds of his rude audience. The more abstruse points of Theology were not introduced, from the difficulty of conveying them in appropriate terms, and besides, this attempt was intended merely as a preparatory step, to a more regular and elaborate course of instruction. The idea of this school was suggested, as a means of restraining, through the force of religious precept, the cruel, vindictive disposition of the

Thlecatat Tribe, and the decrease of crime among them, since its commencement proves that the curb has not been applied in vain.

10. I acquainted the Wallamatte Settlers with your intention of colonizing the Cowelitz River, but have not succeeded in inducing any of them to remove from their present habitations, into the new colony. They have incurred considerable expense in improving their present possessions, which, altho desirous of seconding our views, they are naturally reluctant to abandon, without receiving a full equivalent in return. The expense of a removal, is also a very serious consideration to persons, who have no property besides their Farms; it would, I fear, reduce most of them to poverty, and the poorer farmers could not accomplish the object without our assistance. The influx of American Settlers may probably enable the Canadians to sell out to advantage, and their national dislike of Jonathan, a feeling that absence from their Native Province has not blunted, may probably incite them to emigrate into some quarter, where American influence will not predominate. In the mean time, I will endeavour to raise the character of the Cowelitz Country, which was never popular, and permit none of our people, except a few, to whom the Company are pledged, to settle on the Wallamatte. The arrival of a Priest and the erection of agricultural machinery will, I am certain, decide the point in favour of the Cowelitz; The Settlers there, are put to serious inconvenience from the want of a grist Mill, and I have sent them, a small hand Mill, as a temporary substitute.

11. The Wallamatte Settlement is annually growing in importance, and threatens to exercise, in course of time, a greater influence, than desirable over our affairs.

The Population may be classed into three parties, consisting of

23 Canadians formerly in the service

18 Americans stragglers from Calefornia &c.

10 „ Clergymen, teachers &c. attached to the
Methodist Mission with 6 Ladies

51 Total

They possess, collectively, 600 head of neat cattle, a good stock of swine & horses in sufficient numbers for the purposes of tillage. One grist Mill is in operation, another in progress, and a saw Mill has been just completed. The Mission is, at present, the life and soul of the Settlement, dispensing its bounties with a liberal hand. Last winter its Members laid out upwards of £500 in various improvements, purchases of Land & farm stock, which gave an extraordinary impulse to industry and greatly enhanced the price of labour. A good working horse valued formerly at £2 now sells for £5 or 6, Neats at the same price, and the current value of a days work, was during harvest up to 10/- but has since declined to 5/- where it generally stands.

No sort of manufacture is yet introduced, but the restless Americans are brooding over a thousand projects, for improving the navigation, building steam Boats, erecting machinery and other schemes that would excite a smile, if entertained by a less enterprising people, with the same slender means. After, however, having witnessed the perfect indifference, with which an American embarks his last shilling in more unpromising speculations, I really think, that very slight encouragement would give the necessary impulse.

The aspect of the country, in its natural state is strikingly beautiful. The intermixture of woods & fertile plains, peculiarly adapts it for the residence of civilized man, affording lands easily tilled, excellent pasture, fuel and building materials of the best quality. Grain is, now, the only export, of the Colony: the surplus produce of 1836 was 1000 Bus. Wheat, which we purchased, and I am now buying up the crop of this season, to clear the market and leave nothing in store for casual visiters, a policy that ought not to be neglected.

The American Settlers have petitioned the legislature of the United States, to grant them a form of government, or in other words, to receive them as subjects. The petition will not, I presume, attract much attention, unless, in accord with the tide of public feeling; but it discovers the natural bias of our neighbours. Eighteen or twenty Americans and Indians, left the Wallamatte last June, with the intention of penetrating to

Calefornia, and returning from thence with cattle. They were attacked on the route by the Sasté Tribe, who repulsed them with loss, after a sharp engagement, and they arrived here empty handed, and have since remained quietly upon their farms.

The interests of the Colony, and Fur Trade will never harmonize, the former can flourish, only, through the protection of equal laws, the influence of free trade, the accession of respectable inhabitants; in short by establishing a new order of things, while the fur Trade, must suffer by each innovation.

The only perceptible effect yet produced on our affairs, by the existence of the Settlement, is a restless desire, in the Companys servants, to escape from our service to the Colony, but in the present state of the country, when the Settlers are so entirely dependent on us, that every man must go down to Vancouver, to sharpen his share, his coulter, and his mattock, we have no reason to fear desertion, however, when the introduction of foreign capital terminates this dependence such events may be expected; and our general influence will decline as the wants of the Settlement find a provision in other sources. The feelings of the Colonists generally are now favourable to the Company, the Canadians being attached from habit and association, identify as far as possible their interest with ours; the vagrant Americans respect power and integrity; but I fear that the Methodists nourish secret views, at variance with our interests. The Revd. Mr. Lee, their superintendent, returned this summer, by the overland route, to the United States, to make arrangements for importing goods. A vessel is, therefore, expected, in the course of next year, freighted by the Missionary Society, solely, or, in part, with other adventurers, who may be deceived by false hopes of gain. It is difficult to anticipate their real intentions, and perhaps unfair to question them; but I am naturally anxious about the designs of a body of men, who have the power of seriously injuring our business, and whose conduct may justify suspicion. It is my opinion, they will engage directly or indirectly in trade and their interference will be more detrimental to our interests, than the efforts of the most active commercial body. I really wish,

such an event could be averted, by means of a settlement with them; but if that cannot be done, we must, of course take the field, heart and hand, against them. It is a contest however, from which we can derive nether honour nor advantage. I know our motives and conduct will be misrepresented. If the eager spirit of rivalry should unfortunately beget a mutual hostility, their cause will attract general sympathy, and by raising the cry of persecution against us, they may perhaps rouse the attention of government to the subject. Neither, will it be easy to organize a suitable plan of opposition. To undersell them will appear all but a hopeless attempt, when it is considered that their trade will not be burdened, with establishment expenses, these being founded and maintained for other purposes independently of Trade, and that every fraction, received in payment of goods, over and above the actual cost and charges, will be, to them, absolute gain.

I am probably dwelling, too long on this subject, but I feel its importance, and a deep anxiety to expose the true nature of our position, and to recommend that your representative in this District, be empowered to negotiate with the Missions for their future supplies of goods; at 70 or 80 p. cent on the 1st cost of imported articles, and country produce to be furnished at Servants Prices: or, perhaps your Honors might conclude a more advantageous arrangement with the Board of Missions in Boston. The principal Methodist Episcopal Church & the United Calvinist Churches send Missionaries to this quarter. My remarks apply solely to the Methodists, and have no reference whatever to the Calvinist Missionaries, who voluntarily came forward and pledged themselves not to trade furs.

A reinforcement for the latter of three Clergymen with their wives, and an assistant Lay Teacher, arrived this autumn, by the overland route, from the United States. They have now three Missionary Stations established, or in course of formation, one, of which, is in the vicinity of Fort Colvile, and the two others within Fort Nez Percez District.

I was casually informed, that they also propose to send Teachers into our Districts of New Caledonia & Thompson's River, a purpose which I dislike, & yet cannot legally oppose,

as long as the extent of our territorial jurisdiction remains in its present undetermined state, & the country accessible to subjects of the American Union. I lately declined proposals, for the purchase of cattle, made through an influential member of the Calvinist Mission, until the sanction of your Honors be obtained.

These people are now dependent on the Natives, for all supplies of animal food, and feel anxious to increase their herds, in order, to possess ample resources of their own, whereon they may live, without interfering either in the fur or provision Trade of the Country; with the latter, of which, in their present destitute circumstances, they must meddle. It is manifestly our interest to support these views & to confine their general intercourse within the narrowest possible limits, and for the attainment of so desirable an object, I think it advisable to sell them 20 or 30 head of cattle, I shall however await & be guided by your decision.

12. In my letter to the Governor and Council of March 1838, copy of which is herewith transmitted, I noticed the affairs of the Coasting Trade up to the 14th Sept. when the business for Outfit 1837 was brought to a close. That year was marked by the frightful progress of the Small Pox among the Native Tribes; and the present is no less distinguished by a remarkable freedom from many of the annoyances incident to that branch of trade. The state of health in every part of the District, was generally good, and no American vessels appeared in the field, to divide the trade or distract our attention, so that we have had leisure to amend and improve. With these decided advantages of circumstance in our favor, the returns of Fort McLoughlin and the Steamer *Beaver* are not, however, good, and at this advanced season a miracle of fortune alone can restore them to the standard of former years.

The deficiency has arisen from a diminution in the quota of skins, usually furnished by the fur marts of Queen Charlottes Sound and the adjacent harbours. I do not ascribe this decline to the decrease of furred animals, but rather to local causes, of limited and temporary influence. Among the principal of these, I may rank, an active war carried on all summer by the

men of Newitté, with the Sebassa Tribe, in consequence of which their time was occupied in plans of defence & revenge. Other causes, conjointly, with the above have also indirectly aided in producing a partial depression, that will soon cease, and we shall, I trust, receive a corresponding increase next year.

The trade of Fort Simpson, not having suffered from any untoward event, continues in a flourishing state, and promises to equal if not surpass in amount, the result of the most prosperous years.

The absence of opposition enabled us to suspend the sale of ammunition and firearms in all the Harbours south of Fort McLoughlin; as a check upon the Native Coquilt Pedlers who by the traffic in these articles, with the Indians of Fort Langley, undersell the Tariff of that Post, and do much injury to its business. I have also requested Mr. Work to employ the Steam vessel during the intervals of the busy season, in exploring the Canals and inlets of Queen Charlotte's Sound, or more properly of the portion of Coast extending from Lat. 50 to 52 North; into which we may penetrate, without disturbing the economy of the interior business: the inhabitants having no direct intercourse with any of our vessels or establishments. Beyond that point of Latitude to 55 North, we are guided by a different policy, as the trade of the country, lying east of the maritime range of Mountains, flows into the interior Districts, where it is secured at a tenth part of the expense incurred upon the Coast: and therefore within these limits, 52 to 55 North Lat. we are anxious rather to buy up the skins accessible to opposition, than by sending up the Canals to encourage an influx of business from the remote inland tribes; an evil that will, of itself, increase notwithstanding all the restraints, that we can impose. Our Trade now embraces almost every accessible portion of the Coast as far as the Russian Line of demarcation, and in the interior a limited section of mountainous country divides the Northern Posts of New Caledonia & the West Branch of McKenzie's River. Owing to this connected occupation, by our various establishments, & shipping, we are straitened for room, and we cannot

greatly extend the business of one Post without producing, at some other, a corresponding depression. The respite from opposition, we have enjoyed for the past and present year induces a hope that our American friends are withdrawing, entirely, from the business; a result which, the vigorous measures of the Russian Company, have, undesignedly on their part, aided our own efforts, in advancing. Their exclusive measures by virtually closing the Ports within their Territory against the vessels of other nations, severely injured the Americans who were thereby, thrown entirely upon our contracted & well guarded line of coast, to be exposed to a regular system of watching and harassing, that defeated every chance of success; while the intercourse of Fort Simpson with the Russian Indians was never altogether interrupted. They, last year furnished, 1560 Beaver & Otter skins, the better moiety of Fort Simpson returns, and I believe an equal number, has been obtained, from them, this year. The real effect of the Russian blockade upon our affairs seems, to have diminished the chances of opposition, without having greatly lessened the profits, we formerly derived from their territory. A rumour is current among the Natives, that the Russian settlement at Stikine, is to be abandoned, but I fear it cannot be relied on. Our neighbours may have held out the menace, merely with the view of deterring the Stikine men, through the fear of its realization, from carrying their furs into the British Territory. A note was received at Fort Simpson by a native of Stikine from Mr. Robert Campbell of McKenzies River dated Pellys River 22d July 1838, which the Native Traders who found him, there, report to be identical with the Stikine River, and from that point they returned to the sea in two days. If the ascent as they state occupies ten days, the strength of the current or perhaps other difficulties of navigation must be extreme.

13. The Steam Vessel *Beaver* as mentioned in my last letter, was laid up throughout the winter months of 1837/38 at Fort Simpson. In the latter end of January a dangerous mutiny broke out on board, in which the whole crew except the two Mates, Carpenter, Cook & wood cutters, became ultimately

engaged. On a separate sheet see No. 4 I have drawn up, for your information, an account of the rise, progress and result of this conspiracy, wherein, a few of the seamen, now sent home, acted a prominent part. On the first outbreak of the mutiny, at Fort Simpson, the Officers anxious to crush it in the bud, made several severe examples; but you will learn from the narrative now forwarded, that in its subsequent stages, your orders for the prevention of corporal punishments, have been obeyed, and I am happy that circumstances permitted their literal observance, without relaxing the discipline of the service.

The most unpleasant of our duties is, decidedly, the inforcement of order, among a class of men with whom, obedience is the result, neither of upright principle, nor of the dread of legal penalties; but, in almost every case, proceeds from a high degree of respect for their Officers, and, although, when that feeling is deficient, we are often compelled, to use strong measures, in repressing insolence, and arresting the dangerous progress of insubordination; our worst enemies, would find it difficult to authenticate a single instance of gratuitous cruelty, or of punishment inflicted without sufficient & absolving cause. When order was restored on board the *Beaver* by Mr. Works assuming the command, the vessel ran down to Fort Nisqually, from whence after the settlement of the differences then existing, she returned to the Coast and has been since employed in her usual field of enterprise; greatly too limited in extent, to remunerate a vessel of her class. This evil is of a nature irremediable, until the Russian Government, is constrained to relinquish its arrogant pretensions, and to throw open the avenues, through their maritime frontier, into the unoccupied Territory of Great Britain.

It is unnecessary, to trace out the summer journies of the *Beaver*, as they were confined to precisely, the same harbours visited last year. Various causes, as noticed in a former portion of this letter, tended to frustrate, during the first of the season her success in trade, in which, there is a comparative decline of 10 p. cent. We however entertain hopes, of a more than usually abundant collection of furs towards the close of the year.

In the 12th Paragraph of my letter to the Governor & Council of 18th March last, I solicited attention to the subject of replacing the Engineers, and I also stated the terms on which Mr. Arthur would continue in the service. He is well qualified, and attentive to his duty; but his conduct, in other respects, has been improper, and his very intemperate habits detract considerably from his general merits. In preference, to conceding the extravagant increase of pay, required to retain him in the service, I would recommend the employment of one able Engineer, with a good Blacksmith, the latter at £40 annual wages, as assistant; to be sent out, on return of the *Columbia* to this country. We would then be independent of our present engineers, and have it, in our power, to dismiss both, or retain one of them on advantageous terms; in the latter case, we could employ the Blacksmith on shore. It would be desirable, to engage both the Engineer and Blacksmith, for general service, to labour in their respective capacities, either at sea or on shore; an arrangement that will enable us to turn their mechanical knowledge to the greatest advantage.

14. We parted company with the *Nereide*, on the 22d of last February, beyond the Bar, crowding all sail for the Sandwich Islands, where she was proceeding with the united objects of carrying a freight of lumber and completing repairs. As it was impossible to ascertain, in smooth water, the full extent of injury produced upon the frame work of this vessel, by her unfortunate situation in Sept. 1837; doubts were entertained of her ability, to withstand the shock of a heavy sea. On the passage, a trifling increase of water was observed in the pump well; afterwards discovered to have proceeded from the topsides, which had not been recently caulked; in other respects no serious defect appeared, and her unimpaired strength was attested in several heavy gales of wind. To return from this degression, her voyage was protracted, by contrary winds, to the 26th March. Captain Brothie on arrival at Honolulu represented the state of the vessel to Mr. Pelly, who, in the course of six weeks, had her completely refitted, with the exception of Rudder Irons, as only two composition gudgeons of the necessary size and quality could be obtained at Woahoo;

so that the third, temporarily replaced by an iron one, is still deficient. This article as p. accompanying Memo. we have ordered from England, to correspond in dimensions with a wooden model now forwarded. With that single addition the *Nereide* will I trust be found a good serviceable ship for many years to come. The number of sheep for the return cargo, could not be obtained at the Sandwich Islands & Captain Brotchie, in pursuance, of his instructions sailed from thence, for Monterey on the 4th May, and arrived there on the 26th following. At that place, he did not escape the vexatious delays and unjust exactions, to which, all trading vessels are exposed within the Ports of Calefornia.

Entering the ship, and a petty invoice of £140 Sterling cost us 800 Dollars, in cash, such being the customary impolitic duties, levied upon foreign vessels, by an ignorant government, alike destitute of energy and notorious for the unprincipled rapacity which marks its measures. The unexpected scarcity of Sheep, within the District of Monterey, threatened to defeat the object of the voyage; & a visit to the Mission of San Carmel was no less fruitless;—as the entire stock of the community did not exceed 400 head, on which, the good Fathers placed a most unreasonable valuation. Captain Brotchie was, at length, extricated from this embarrassing position, by a Spaniard, from another part of the Country; who agreed for \$1½ each, to furnish, at the Port of San Francisco, the required number of sheep. On repairing to that place, difficulties of another kind were presented, by the civil authorities, who objected to the exportation of cattle without a permit from General Vallijo, the highest authority then resident in that part of the Country. He possesses unbounded influence with the Head of the Provisional Government, who, is said to adopt no important measure without his concurrence.

To this high Personage, it was necessary to do homage, before the purchase of a few sheep could be ratified, and Captain Brotchie accordingly proceeded to his residence, at a distance of 80 miles from the harbour.

The General would not sanction the contract, made with a citizen of the Republic, as the laws prohibited the export of

cattle, on private account, reserving for the general government, the sole right and emolument of all business of that nature. He then proposed to furnish the sheep, at the same price as the former contractor, who when informed of the General's intentions, quietly resigned his claims, without attempting to recover his expenses. General Vallijo, having no sheep of his own to meet this engagement, caused the Missions of San Salano, and San Raphael to be rifled of their flocks; a measure quite in unison with the character of the Government.

From the spoils of the Church—eight hundred sheep were selected and shipped; when the *Nereide* finally put to sea, after a most tedious detention, owing to the causes just enumerated, of 35 days, when the whole business should have been completed in a third of the time.

Several commercial propositions were submitted to General Vallijo, as the chief executive authority within reach; having for object the purchase of horned cattle, and the acquisition of certain rights of chase, over the Coasts and Territories of the Republic. He replied verbally that Government would agree to provide any number of cattle at \$7 a head, but relatively to the latter objects, his answer was indirect and evasive, evidently dictated by a disposition opposed to our engaging in these pursuits.

There is no apparent cause for the existence of such a feeling, as a concession in our favour, of those rights, would be a positive benefit to the Country; and open to it, a new source of revenue, from a branch of trade, hitherto exclusively enjoyed by foreigners, who hold in derision the idle vapourings of a State, possessing not the shadow of a Naval force to guard its shores from insult. The Consistent opposition made to this suit, may probably arise from a vague suspicion of our future designs; they may fear, as in the case of the Russian Settlement, that once firmly seated on their Territory, we may not afterwards feel disposed to relinquish our grasp. I intend to persevere in pressing these subjects upon the attention of the Californian Government, who may eventually, be induced to entertain our proposals with more favour. The proposed charge of \$7 each, for wild cattle, delivered at San Francisco,

is extravagant, being much over the usual price; it is however important to know, that no obstacles, productive of unnecessary detention, will be opposed to our views, should we send a party to purchase cattle. The following estimate will show the probable cost of a herd of cattle brought from thence.

1000 head at 35/-	£1750
2 Gentlemen	150
30 Men at £20	600
Cost of Outfit	500
	<hr/>
	£3000

The loss through accident and fatigue in course of the journey, at a rough guess, may be assumed as one tenth of the whole number, forming an addition of nearly, 6 p. cent to the amount of outlay appearing in this estimate. The *Nereide* arrived on the 26th July at Fort Nesqually with 634 sheep, having lost 166 during a tedious and most unfavourable passage. She cleared out from that place on the 1st August and anchored in this River on the 9th following. At Fort George discharged a quantity of Salt brought from the Sandwich Islands; and after receiving on board the Outfits of Forts Langley & Nesqually, which I had previously sent there, left the River again on the 27th, delivered part cargo at Fort Nesqually on the 8th Sept., and immediately pressed on to Fort Langley, from whence, I daily expect her return, an event which, I will notice in a supplementary Paragraph should it take place previous to the *Columbias* departure.

15. I will now proceed to notice, the profitless duties which have, this season, kept the Schooner *Cadboro* constantly engaged. At the date of my former letter, she was in the stocks receiving a thorough repair; which by great exertion, we succeeded in completing, by the 28th of April; when she was immediately launched, and, in the course of three busy days, dropped down the River with the supplies intended for the Southern Trappers, under Mr. Laframboise; who according to appointment were to rendezvous, in Trinidad Bay. The *Cadboro* reached that place in safety, and remained there, at

anchor, until the 8th July, without seeing, or hearing any intelligence of the expected Party: who, as will be hereafter noticed, had mistaken the place, and gone a considerable distance south of the anchorage. Before the return of the *Cadboro* to this River, we were apprized, that the Parties had not met, by the arrival of Mr. Laframboise with a few men; having left the bulk of his people, near the Sea Coast, under orders to remain stationary until the 1st August. I now took measures to send Laframboise back, either over land or by sea, to rejoin his people; and to avoid all delay, if the latter plan should be followed, instant arrangements were made, by forwarding provisions, stores &c. to Fort George to enable the *Cadboro*, on arrival, to put out to sea, again immediately, as it was most important, to overtake the Trappers before they retired from the Sea Coast. On the 23d July the vessel returned from her unsuccessful cruize, received the stores &c. forwarded, took in wood and water, & returned to hunt out the Trappers, having on board Mr. Chief Trader McLeod, who is sent to transact the business of receiving the furs and equipping the Party. Mr. Laframboise & men, with several recruits were also among the number of Passengers. Since they crossed the Bar on the 3d of Augt. we have, up to the present date, heard no word of their proceedings, but I will communicate any further advices, received during the *Columbia's* stay in the River.

16. The journey of the Southern Party of Trappers from the banks of the Columbia to the Buonaventura Valley, where they arrived on the 15th November 1837 was greatly protracted by the weak and reduced state of their horses. The Natives, upon the route, were uniformly peaceable, and the warlike Chief of the powerful Sasty Tribe, evinced his desire of peace, by sending an escort of his people, to protect the Party while travelling through his Country. This wise precaution held the predatory disposition of the Sasty's completely in check, and prevented the numberless causes of mutual exasperation, which had been, on other occasions, productive of the worst evils. Mr. Laframboise was instructed to explore and hunt the Feather River; but on discovering a great depth

of snow upon the Mountains, over which, his route must have been continued, he abandoned the attempt, as being too hazardous at that season of the year; and adopted the alternative of hunting the low, marshy country, surrounding the interior Bason of San Francisco Bay. His tents were accordingly pitched at an eligible spot, south of the confluence of the Feather and Buonaventura Rivers, where the camp remained stationary for the winter, forming a centre of operations, from whence, the Trappers might either disperse, on all sides, for hunting, or by falling back upon it, reassemble at pleasure. Game was rather scarce and the season most inclement; but in other respects the winter passed away smoothly, without any uncommon accidents to distinguish it. The numerous inhabitants of the Valley, were not unfriendly; they live in the utmost poverty, subsisting, in a great measure, on wild roots & acorns. Their extreme destitution brought them to the camp, in crowds, in hopes of having their wants relieved; and when assistance could be afforded it was in no instance withheld. The Trappers were very successful in their excursions, and mustered in the spring about 2700 skins. On the 1st May Mr. Laframboise broke up from winter quarters and according to instructions moved towards the Sea Coast, to meet the vessel with his supplies.

A journey of fourteen days over a rugged and difficult country, brought him to the Sea Coast, 100 miles south of the appointed rendezvous in Trinidad Bay. They remained there, in anxious suspense, to the 6th June, when despairing of any arrival, they retired 30 miles into the interior, when Mr. Laframboise, without ever reflecting on the possibility of his having mistaken the locality, or suspecting, that the vessel was anchored 100 miles north of his position, waiting his arrival, with impatience, equal to that felt by his people; and attributing her absence to every thing but the true cause, determined on proceeding with a small force to this place, for instructions, and to leave behind, the bulk of the Party, with orders to continue till the 1st August at the encampment then occupied; and to proceed afterwards, should his absence be further protracted, into the Buonaventura Valley, where he would rejoin

them. On the 9th July, Mr. Laframboise with seven men arrived here, with the information detailed above, exhibiting the forlorn state of the Party left without a leader, and the serious disappointment, in regard to the vessel, which, I was not then aware, proceeded from a stupid mistake. The distress of mind, I suffered, from this unfortunate misunderstanding, was aggravated by our ignorance of the vessels fate, and the partial derangement it produced in our affairs, involving, among other evils, the utter defeat, of my ulterior plans for the employment of the disposable shipping. It was, now, evident that instead of having a spare vessel, as intended, to push on our trade with the Sandwich Islands, there would be full occupation for them at home; as the *Cadboro* on arrival must return to supply the Southern Party with means for another hunt, and to secure the valuable furs in their possession; these objects being of pressing urgency: while the *Nereide* would be required for the transport to and from Pugets Sound & the Gulf of Georgia. Having decided upon this plan, I immediately forwarded the Provisions and stores, necessary for another cruize to Fort George, so as to enable the *Cadboro*, to put out to sea again, the moment of her arrival, in the River, in order to overtake the Trappers, before their departure from the Sea Coast; while, in the event of any accident having happened to the vessel, we, at the same time, commenced extensive preparations to forward Mr. Laframboise by land, with such supplies as were most wanted by his Party. In the midst of these preparations the *Cadboro* fortunately arrived; and was hurried off, a few days afterwards, with Laframboise and men, having also Mr. Chief Trader McLeod on board, to settle the business connected with this Party, and we have not since heard from them.

17. The Outfit for the Snake Country, was forwarded on the 14th April, in charge of Mr. McKay, who was supercided in the appointment, at Fort Nez Percez, by Mr. Francis Ermatinger sent, for that purpose, from Fort Colville by Chief Factor McLoughlin. They arrived at Fort Boisé about the end of May, and reached Fort Hall on the 17th June without loss or accident.

The Snake business, in its present form, was commenced amidst circumstances the most adverse to economical arrangement. Being, in the first place, intended merely as a temporary occupation of the country by moveable trading parties, destined to watch the movements and check the advance of opposition, it has grown up, from that humble origin, into a permanent form, wearing, in a perhaps unavoidable absence of system and economy, the deep impress of its casual & irregular institution. Such being the state of affairs, I am now striving to accomplish, a general retrenchment of expenses, and the introduction of order and method into every part of the business. I also feel most anxious to rouse the slumbering energies of the Natives and to place them, as hunters, in competition with the American Trappers. The silent working of this system will teach the former to prize their natural rights of chase, which are not now appreciated, and excite a spirit of resistance, that may cause the expulsion of every intruder, and become the means of fortifying our tenure of the country. Such a spirit has been manifested by neighbouring Tribes, who have uniformly opposed the attempts made to trap their country, and never fail to punish offenders, of that class, in a very summary manner. To complete our plan and provide a desirable refuge for disbanded Trappers, at a distance from our Posts, where their interference with the Trade is always more or less felt, a small Post was to be established in the Youta Country, south of Great Salt Lake, on the Mexican frontier.

With respect to the Trappers our success was complete: they were entirely withdrawn from the lower Snake Country and dispersed south and east of Fort Hall; but the Youta Post was not established, in consequence, of two rival forts being found in possession of the country, and it would have been only a waste of money to take the field against them, particularly as we have no interest, there, at stake. Mr. Ermainger with two men made a visit to the American rendezvous chiefly for the purpose of gathering information. He was received very coolly on arrival; but when known that his object was not trade, he met with every kindness. The annual supply caravan from St. Louis, consisted of 25 Waggon under a

strong escort of men, and the collective hunts and trade of the American Company for the year ending June 1838, was little over 2000 Beaver and Otter skins. The complement of men employed, in their country service, though now greatly reduced in number exceeds 125, of different classes, some at fixed wages, and others, receiving five Dollars p. lb. for the Beaver skins they collect. Their trade, cannot certainly support such expensive machinery, and we are almost induced to believe, the reports in circulation, that a great portion of their debts, are cleared off by cards and alcohol. They are striving to reduce the price of Beaver to three Dollars p. pound, but there is no certainty of the point being carried, as the attempt produced an alarming excitement among their men. Many even of their best Trappers, would have entered our service, had we been desirous of such acquisitions: but their overtures were declined, as it is clearly our interest to push up the price of goods, on the American side of the frontiers.

A party of Calvinist Missionaries and Captain Sutter a Swiss gentleman, with a suite of 8 men travelled with our people, on their return from rendezvous, to Fort Hall; from whence, they took the lead to the Columbia. The former joined their friends near Fort Nez Perce, and the latter travelled overland to the Wallamette, where he quartered his men. The object of his visit, is not exactly known, all that I can learn of his history is, that he derives his title from a commission formerly held in the French army, and has no connection whatever with the U.S. Government. He left Europe with a respectable fortune, invested it in business, and was unfortunate during the late commercial pressure in the United States, and at present proposes to drive Cattle from California to the Wallamette. We received a visit from him lately, when he requested a passage for himself and people in the Columbia to the Sandwich Islands, which I granted in consideration of £15 for a Cabin accommodation & £6 for the forecastle. To return from this digression, the furs of the Snake District were sent from Fort Hall, under the charge of Mr. McKay, who, lately, arrived here with the whole in good order. The collection is very fair, exceeding 2186 Beaver besides other peltries,

but I fear the profits will be small, as the transport expenses, are very heavy. As long however as the grand object of repelling opposition is attained, without absolute loss, we cannot consider our labour unrewarded.

18. In the course of the preceding narrative, many transactions, connected with the Depot business of Fort Vancouver, having been touched upon, I will confine my present retrospect of its affairs, to such matters as have not yet appeared. The Brigade, with the furs from the inland Districts, under conduct of Chief Factors Ogden & Black, arrived on the 5th June; and remained here, making the various arrangements, relative to the business of their respective charges, until the 30th following. Their return progress, as far as Okanagan, was unattended by any serious accident, and I suppose the remainder of their voyage was no less prosperous. The state of health has not, this season, been interrupted by the prevalence of any epidemical complaint, the Fever having been scarcely felt; but the number of deaths, from casualties and general disease, exceed the average of fever years. Our farming operations were commenced and vigorously continued throughout the season, to the extent of our disposable means. The periodical river flood, caused us considerable loss: it commenced at an uncommonly early season, rose to the level of the highest bank, and gradually subsided; a second flush came down early in May, and soon rose above its former level. For some days we battled successfully with the flood by throwing up repeated embankments, and though the water by its mighty lateral pressure, was forced up in the centre of the plain which is considerably lower than the bank of the River, we still trusted that a change of weather might in the mean time, create a diversion in our favour and cause a sudden depression in the River. Our hopes were disappointed, as the irresistible flood baffled all our efforts, and on the 21st May broke over both the natural and factitious banks, and rushing into our fields, laid waste 80 acres, of our most promising crop. This blow came upon us with stunning effect, at the close of seed time, and the opening of the travelling season, when there was no prospect of repairing the loss. The water,

to our joyful surprise, began to retire in the course of fifteen days, and as our fields successively emerged from it, the Plough and harrow were put in requisition, and by the end of June they were all recovered and under a second crop of Pease, Barley, Buck Wheat & Potatoes; with faint hopes indeed of reaping much benefit from our labours, but the experiment was worth the trial. A most favourable season with regular alternations of wet and dry weather, brought the early crops to maturity, and enabled us to close our first harvest by the middle of Augt. Our latter crops, repaid us handsomely, and with the exception of a few acres of Pease, are all under cover.

Notwithstanding our disasters the crop is on the whole a fair average one, and we are now breaking up the summer fallows and intend to lay down, in the course of this, and next month 100 acres of wheat.

The Cattle give constant employment to 7 men, and temporarily occupy an additional number, in driving the herds to fresh pastures. The country in this vicinity is not adapted for herding, on a large scale; the only tolerable pasturage being found upon low marshy lands, bordering the River, which are intersected with, innumerable pools of water, and belts of closely matted forest; where the cattle, like the native deer, take refuge, whenever pursued; and from whence, they are not easily dislodged by their keepers. Other disadvantages, inseparable from such situations, are not wanting, as for instance, inundation from the overflowings of the Columbia River; and the coarse rank quality of the grass, affords, in winter, little nourishment; in consequence of its being beat down and in a manner destroyed by the snow and rains. In the latter case, the cattle fly to the evergreens of the forest, or are fed, upon straw, from the barns; and in the former, are driven to an extensive arid plain, ten miles back from the River, where they were, this summer confined for upwards of six weeks.

The herd upon the Multoma Island are not secure from inundation, but have abundant feed at all seasons. The other herd, 250 in number, alluded to in the 9th Paragraph of my

former letter, suffered great privation, last winter, and produced very few Calves in Spring. Part of these latter were lately sent to the Cowelitz, & the remainder near 150 I had removed to the border of the Fallatey Plains, 20 miles distant from this place, on the south side of the Columbia; where I intend to leave them, for the ensuing winter, and if they are found to thrive, they will be kept there, until it becomes desirable to dispose of them otherwise. That place possesses advantages, superior to any other, in this neighbourhood, and is free from the objections which disqualify, these for grazing districts. If the depth and duration of the snow, in winter, is not greater, than generally reported, it may be pronounced the most eligible station to send any cattle that cannot be maintained, on the limited pastures, of Fort Vancouver. The general increase of this stock since last March does not exceed 180 Calves; of which number 80 have been raised here; but from the arrangements now made, I expect a much larger increase next year. The dairy yielded 56 Kegs of Butter besides supplying the daily demands of the Fort. The sheep and swine being more under our own eye, have increased in a much higher ratio, than the horned cattle. We have raised upwards of 250 Pigs; but from the scarcity of food there is much difficulty in keeping up the number of these animals. Two hundred & eleven lambs, with upwards of 600 lbs. of wool are the fruits of this season, from our small flock of sheep. The wool is rolled up in the fleece, and assorted into fine, Middling & coarse: it would be very satisfactory, for us, to know the probable value of each quality in the English market. The sheep yeilding the fine and coarse wool, are distinct varieties, and the middling kind, is, I think, produced by a cross of the two former. From the plan now followed of keeping the ewes in a separate flock, and permitting only the fine wool rams to have access to them, the coarse wool varieties will soon entirely disappear, and be substituted by a more valuable breed of sheep.

At the suggestion of Chief Factor McLoughlin, the Saw Mill has, since last Feby., been almost entirely rebuilt, on a new construction, having a double gearing, lighter frames,

diminished cranks, with a greatly accelerated stroke, and it now executes more work, in much better style, than before these improvements were made. It is still, however, an imperfect structure, subject to continued accidents, which, give rise to a thousand vexatious interruptions. It commenced regular work, on the improved plan, in the middle of April, was stopped by the back water from the Columbia, and the labours of harvest, upwards of two months, leaving four months, during which it cut 90,000 feet of inch boards. Of this quantity 60,000 feet is consigned to the Sandwich Islands and will yield at the current price \$2400 a sum, considerably over our expenses. In the course of the autumn, I expect to have another cargo ready for shipment, which I will send to market p. the *Nereide*, unless, in the interim, directed by the Governor and Council, to employ, that vessel, on some other service. We have had our hands full of employment this summer, every person having been kept in constant activity. Besides the ordinary labours of the place, already enumerated, a large building of 153 × 33 feet, intended for a dwelling House, will be completed in the course of six weeks.

We have also constructed the machinery and prepared materials for the dam & building, of a water power Grist Mill, adapted for two run of 54 inch stones. A Barge of 40 tons burden, for River transport, is also in a state of considerable forwardness. These undertakings are, at present, progressing slowly, as nearly all our disposable force is absent on various detached services, leaving us with the following muster of tradesmen and others having fixed duties.

Saw Mill	-	-	26	Hospital	-	1
Forge	-	-	9	Bakers	-	3
Coopers	-	-	4	Carpenters	-	3
Millers	-	-	2	Stores	-	1
Cattle & dairy	-	-	7	Domestics	-	4
Swine Herds	-	-	3			<hr/> 74
Shepherd	-	-	1	Invalids	-	8
Farm Labourers	-	-	10			<hr/> 82

as soon as our parties reassemble, we will continue steadily to prosecute these objects, until they are fully brought to a close.

The Fur Trade of this place and its dependencies Fort George & the Umpqua River Fort, are comparatively better than usual, at this season, but it is yet too early to predict the final result.

The Native population of this River, with the exception of one hostile rencounter between a few Chinooks with a small party of Killemook Indians; in which three of the latter were severely wounded, have not been disturbed by intestine broils, & that affair is hushed up, and not likely to provoke further aggression on either side. I lately dispatched Mr. Thomas McKay with six good men, to put the affairs of the Umpqua River, in order, and tranquilize the Natives, who have not entirely banished from their minds, the false impressions, which, last year, created so much excitement among them. The person in charge of that Post, a common Canadian, is fully competent to the management of the trade; but deficient in the firm and resolute turn of mind which, in certain situations, is found to be indispensable.

19. The affairs of Fort Nesqually exhibit little variety, from the established routine of former years, save in the exertions made to retrieve its declining trade. This District is extensive, and its inhabitants numerous. At every River flowing into the Sound where food is abundant, are congregated a number of Indians, subsisting chiefly on the Sea and Shell Fish, provided in the utmost profusion by the all bounteous hand of Nature. These communities are known to us under the names of

1	Squally amish	or people of Nesqually River
2	Puce a lap amish	„ „ Puce a lap do.
3	Sino amish	„ „ Sino amish do.
4	Sina homish	„ „ Sina homish do.
5	Skatchet	„ „ Whidbeys Island
6	Nowhalimeek	„ „ Nowhalimeek do.

These six villages or Societies inhabit the line of Coast extending in a northerly direction, from Fort Nesqually. Others,

styled the Pininsular Societies inhabit the Western Coast of Pugets Sound, extending through De Fuca Straits to Cape Flattery and are named

- | | | |
|---|------------|--|
| 1 | Too a nook | inhabiting the side of the Strait opposite the |
| | | Fort |
| 2 | So-guamish | „ Port Orchard |
| 3 | Chalums | „ Hoods Canal Pt. Discovery &c. |
| 4 | Macca | „ Cape Flattery |

Under this variety of names we find no traces of national difference, and identity of language proves, beyond a doubt that they are, with the exception, of No. 5 and 6 of the first groupe, & No. 4 of the second, one and the same people, deriving a local designation from their places of residence. These distinctive appellations are productive of much evil; They point to an imaginary line of demarcation, which divides the inhabitants of one petty stream, from the people living upon another, and have become the fruitful source of the intestine commotions, that so frequently disturb the tranquility of the District. In fact, no national distinctions whether of Character, of manners, of language or even diversity of interest, could increase the animosity now existing between these branches of this same great tribe. The consequence of this state of mutual hostility is, a feeling of general distrust. Members of the distant communities cannot visit the Fort without endangering their personal safety, and therefore seldom make the attempt. A regular intercourse and a more accessible market for their furs will I am confident, increase the amount of exertion, & be found conducive to the best interests of the Post. It was observed in my last letter, when reporting, on the business of this Post, that we should endeavour to rouse the Indians to more active habits, and train their energies to useful pursuits; at the same time to reconcile their sanguinary feuds, and to restore peace, order & freedom of intercourse to the Tribes of that distracted District.

To attain the first object, a trading party was sent out to visit the distant Tribes, which met with considerable success; & the general principle of the plan intended to accomplish the

latter disideratum, is to operate on the hopes and fears of the Native Chiefs by a system of distinctive rewards, bestowed on such as succeed in preserving the peace, and inducing their followers, to visit the Fort, at stated seasons, with the furs in their possession.

It is impossible, as yet, to estimate the full effects of these measures, as so much must depend on the address and conciliatory manners of the person charged with their execution; but I have every confidence in the experience and zealous co operation of Mr. Kittson, the present manager of Fort Nesqually.

By the latest intelligence received from that quarter of the 8th Sept., the affairs of the Post were in a somewhat improved state. The sheep were thriving, and the lambs daily increasing in numbers, and I have no doubt, that this valuable stock will soon repay, twenty fold, the expenses we have incurred in procuring them.

20. Having received, no regular intelligence from Fort Langley, during the summer, I must defer mention of its affairs until the arrival of the *Nereide* momentarily expected from that place.

21. We have had no direct communication this year, with the authorities of Sitika. I am happy to hear, that your Honors have entered into correspondence with the Directors of the Imperial Company, at St. Petersburgh. It is the only plan which promises to expedite the arrangement you have in view. In our hands it might have dragged on for years, without the chance of a decision, as the Governors of Sitika, are mere birds of passage, holding their situation, respectively, for a term of three years; and although generally military men of some rank possess very little more effective power, in matters distinct from their immediate province, than falls to the share, of the Columbian Governors. You will perhaps find a difficulty in treating with the Directors of the Russian Company on advantageous terms, as their Settlements, on this coast, are now supplied by an American House in Boston. It would be very satisfactory to furnish supplies on terms mutually beneficial, but I do not consider the object of paramount

importance, or one, which demands a heavy sacrifice on our part; therefore should your present negotiation prove abortive, I feel no alarm about the consequences. The holders of the present contract show no disposition to embark in the fur trade, and may find it as much their interest as we do, to discourage the restless herd of adventurers. Their consignments must be of considerable bulk, as they were shipped both this, and last year in large 300 Ton vessels. Captains Barker & Allan, late fur traders, commanded them, but neither the one nor the other displayed any predilection to their former pursuits. Any goods you may undertake to supply, should be shipped in addition to our own Requisitions, which provide barely for the demands of the business, within its present limits.

22. We are now in full preparation for the establishment of the Cowelitz Farm; ninety five head of Cattle are already rendered there; a duty which occupied sixteen Servants & Indians for nearly one entire month. I also lately dispatched Mr. Ross and eight men with a number of agricultural implements. Before proceeding to the Farm, he will make a short stay at a Salmon fishery in its vicinity, to salt fish for winter provisions. By the time that object is accomplished, I will proceed to the Settlement and make choice of such a situation as may be considered best adapted for our purpose, & in other respects use every exertion to carry the plan, you have traced out, fully into operation. I may be permitted to remark, on this subject, that eight men, are probably inadequate to the management, of an agricultural establishment so extensive as the one in question. In this country the farmers occupation is not confined simply to the labours of agriculture, he must, also, have men to provide his manifold wants, in the shape of wheels, & Carts & harness, & to perform the numberless intermediate operations, from felling the tree in the forest, to the last finishing touch of the Plough or the Harrow, of the House or Machine. A Forge will also be indispensable. This complicate system is not a positive disadvantage, and I refer to it, merely, as showing the cause why a farm in this part of the world cannot be managed with the same apparent economy

of means, as in civilized countries, where the agriculturist may, at will, call in the assistance of the various trades that minister to his wants. A grievous burden is, however, imposed on the agriculture of this portion of America, by the impossibility of finding labourers, exactly, at the season, they are wanted, with the option of dismissing them at pleasure. For instance, ten steady farm servants may execute the tillage of a large farm; but, it is evident, that the same number cannot perform the dependent operations of reaping & securing the crop, in harvest, with the necessary degree of care and expedition. Wherefore the Columbian Farmer, must choose, either, to risk his crops, or maintain beyond the regular Farm Servants, really wanted at all times, a number of extra hands who, except on such occasions of pressure, might be dispensed with entirely.

In such circumstances, it appears to me, that notwithstanding the advantage of free soil, we cannot furnish wheat, delivered here, under 5/- the bushel, without incurring loss; and I am also of opinion that, in order to receive the full benefit of agricultural experiments, they should, if possible, be combined with other pursuits, to supply occupation, when the men cannot be profitably employed at the farm. Upon such principles the business of this place is conducted: the duties connected with the Depot, the Indian Trade, Farm & Saw Mill never leave us a moments leisure, at any season, and form together, a system that works to more advantage, than either would produce if disunited from the others.

Oak will be cut this winter for the Thrashing Machine, which will be made as soon as possible. I have ordered for that purpose, a few cast metal wheels from England, that can be bought there much cheaper than we can make them.

23. The consignment p. *Columbia* was received in perfect order, & I have much pleasure in noticing the very particular attention paid to all our demands. The quality of the made clothing is greatly superior to any hitherto received, and gives complete satisfaction. In fact, we have no complaint to make of any article, but the shoes, which are still inferior, and quite unsuitable for the inclement winters of this place, six and

seven pairs of our present stock, being hardly sufficient to last out the winter months without the expected comfort of being kept dry, as they take water at every pore. We require strong durable shoes at 7/- & 10/- prime cost, which will be more satisfactory, to purchasers, and the Company will benefit by the increased profit on their sale.

The *Columbia* was this summer employed on the North West Coast and is this day dispatched to make the best of her way to Fort George; it is probable she will leave the River by the 6th of November. Her cargo for England consists of the Furs of the season, a few hundred hides, a small quantity of Sheeps wool, with Timber &c. for the Sandwich Islands. I will in future take measures to dispatch the return ship, about the 1st day of November to secure her arrival in England by the beginning of the following May; and it would be satisfactory, could the outward ship, arrive here about the same date.

24. Mr. Dunn, a young man whose conduct has given satisfaction, while in the service, declines renewing his agreement & goes home a passenger. The Revd. Mr. & Mrs. Beaver also take a passage by the *Columbia*, for the purpose of intituting legal proceedings against Chief Factor McLoughlin.

With the Revd. Gentleman I lived on very friendly terms until the 2d of the present month, when the perusal of his report, now forwarded, induced to seek explanations, of certain passages contained in its 20th page; and on his refusal to comply with a request to that effect, I declined holding further intercourse with him, beyond the interchange of those relative duties, which our respective situations in the service, rendered unavoidable; for this correspondence I beg to refer your Honors to No. 5.

Dissatisfied, apparently, with the exclusive privilege of remaining here, an idle spectator, of the busy throng around him; that Gentleman also usurps a sort of prescriptive right, to libel, by his discoloured statements the character of every person with whom he associates. Were these writings, offered only for your perusal, the evil might be bourne in silence, as our characters are too well known to be affected by flimsy

misrepresentation; but when, through the medium of Mr. Beavers select men, the direful passages, designed, as they report, not to reprove vice; but to blast reputations and procure expulsion from the service, are noised about throughout the settlement, they become an unsufferable nuisance and highly prejudicial to the service.

No. 6 contains copies of depositions respecting the subject which ostensibly calls Mr. Beaver home, the witnesses themselves, being principally tradesmen, could not be sent, without very serious derangement.

You will see from No. 7 the steps used to induce Mr. Beaver, to cancel his engagements with the Company, & their failure, you will also learn that he proceeds to England, without my consent & entirely upon his own responsibility. No. 8 contains certain claims, brought forward by Mr. Beaver which I promised to lay before your Honors.

25. Respecting our trade with the Sandwich Islands, I can forward no late information. By the last accounts of 30th April 1838 the price of Timber was steady at 4 cents the superficial foot, and Salmon at 8 & 9 Dollars a Barrel. There was a large stock of the former article in the yards of several timber merchants, chiefly of Columbia growth. Mr. Pelly thinks that the competitors, in our line, are gradually withdrawing from the business, and he gives hopes of better prices, on the realization of that desirable event. I will not fail to pour in supplies, of Columbia produce, by every opportunity, and endeavour, by that means, to confirm, the impression already produced.

26. We await instructions, with the necessary reinforcements of officers and men, to carry into effect your wishes, with respect, to the proposed establishment on Vancouvers Island. The site examined by Captain McNeill, reported on in the 11th Paragraph of my last letter, may not possess every advantage desirable, in such a situation, but it is, as a whole, decidedly unequalled, by any other known portion of the Coast north of Columbia River.

27. Among the documents forwarded, will be found a general statement of our expenses, in repairing the Ship

Nereide's damages, at this place, and the Sandwich Islands, with which we will debit the Underwriters. I must also solicit attention to an additional Requisition for goods, to be shipped p. return of the Barque *Columbia*.

28. This letter has been protracted much beyond, the limits of my original plan, but after becoming involved in the various subjects necessarily introduced, I perceived that a satisfactory or even intelligible outline of our summer proceedings, could not be conveyed within a narrower space. Many of our plans have been pursued amid serious difficulties, but the general result has been successful; and it would be failing in justice to the gentlemen with me, were I to neglect, mentioning, in this place, the uniform zeal and activity, which, in their several capacities, they have respectively displayed.

It will I trust appear from the details here given that the means, at my disposal, have not been misapplied, and I have only to express a hope that my earnest & unceasing exertions, to promote the interests of the trade will be rewarded by your approbation and support.

I Remain

Honourable Sirs

Your very Obdt. Servant

JAMES DOUGLAS

[*Enclosure*]

Fort Vancouver 18th March 1838¹

James Douglas to
George Simpson Esquire
&c. &c. &c.

I have the honour to acknowledge your Dispatch from Norway House dated 30th June 1837, likewise a copy of the Minutes of Council; and the various other accompanying documents agreeably to the list forwarded.

¹ B. 223/b/20, fos. 68-83d.

2. I enter upon the duties of the important charge to which you have been pleased to appoint me, with a degree of diffidence and oppressive anxiety regarding the future interests of the District that I attempt in vain to banish from my mind. These feelings are excited, not, by the weight of responsibility, properly attached to the charge itself, but proceed from the yearly increasing difficulties which, every one, acquainted with our affairs, must anticipate from the collision of the foreign and independent interests, growing up on every side, around us: and I dread being exposed to reproach for results in themselves unavoidable, and that no ability however great, can hope to avert. Such difficulties, however, will neither discourage from exertion, nor prevent the most strenuous efforts on my part; to repay your confidence. It is clearly my duty as it shall become my pride, to exert every faculty in watching over and promoting the varied, extensive and valuable interests connected with this appointment. In consequence of Chief Factor McLoughlin being here I have not hitherto taken a leading part in the management of affairs; but upon his departure I shall carry into effect, such, of the several objects recommended in your dispatch, as could not be attempted at an earlier period. As Chief Factor McLoughlin will be likewise present, at the seat of Council, communications from other sources respecting the affairs of this Department, may be deemed superfluous, and I would not probably have entered upon the subject, at this time, had not that Gentleman requested me to draw up, for your information, a detailed and particular account, of every transaction, from the date of his last letter; a request that I will now proceed to execute, by resuming the thread of narrative where it was last laid down, and endeavouring to continue it, in a connected form, to the present time. In this attempt I will begin with the Coasting Trade as it is generally the subject of greatest interest.

3. When Chief Factor Finlayson left Fort Simpson in September 1836, the American trading Vessel *Lagrange* was still anchored in that vicinity; Mr. Harris the supercargo was evidently, on the watch, for a favourable chance of selling the remains of his consignment to advantage, an object that he

might hope to accomplish after our vessels the *Beaver* and *Lama* had left the field, for the season, by obtaining a share of the November Trade. These hopes were fortunately in a measure, disappointed by unforeseen causes, some of which I shall, presently mention, that kept the Natives in a state of comparative inactivity and prevented their usual exertion in hunting. Furs were in consequence uncommonly scarce and high priced, so that his protracted stay until the 15th Novr. when he sailed for the Sandwich Islands was attended with little advantage to himself or detriment to our affairs. We have learnt that he collected during his six months cruise about 845 Beaver & Land Otter, 900 Martin and 15 Sea Otter skins forming, collectively, at our fur prices, a sum of nearly £1300 which taking the return voyage into account, will I think, hardly cover his expenses.

As soon as the *Lagrange* had sailed it became an object to reduce the extravagant prices paid for furs, by the introduction of a more economical system of trade, a measure that excited much discontent and was strongly opposed by the Natives; it was, however, finally carried into effect, and the standard of Trade, which had previously been in a constant state of fluctuation, was fixed at a considerably lower rate. Early in October 1836 the small Pox advancing with fearful rapidity from the Northern Coast, where it had greatly thinned the Native Tribes, made its first desolating appearance among the Indians of the Fort. This disease alarming even in the most favourable circumstances, was peculiarly fatal among ignorant savages where the patient was utterly neglected or became the subject of their own pernicious mode of treatment, calculated rather to accelerate than to avert dissolution. In the midst of so much distress & suffering business was almost at a stand, and continued in a very depressed state during the whole winter and spring. The month of June brought with it, a sensible improvement, the Natives having, by that time, recovered from the state of apathy and consternation into which they had been thrown, by the prevailing epidemic, and urged to exertion, by the want of supplies were fast returning to their former habits of industry.

The Coast was likewise free of opposition a curse from which we have this year entirely escaped, so that our operations were unfettered, and the trade flowed, in one unbroken stream, into our hands. Repeated visits from the inhabitants of Kyarney, Tomgass, Port Stewart, Stekene and other Russian Possessions contributed greatly to swell the amount of Returns. The Port Stewart and Tomgass Indians, would, probably have brought a greater number of skins, had they remained at peace with each other, but a fierce war, which raged between them, kept both in a state of constant alarm and diverted their attention from soberer and more profitable pursuits, to the indispensable duty of guarding against the secret attacks of their vindictive enemies. The small Pox disappeared in the month of August: the effects of this visitation will not soon wear out of remembrance with the Natives of Fort Simpson and their northern neighbours, among whom the mortality is computed at one third of the whole population. The Tribes living to the south of Fort Simpson escaped this calamity, which singularly enough appears to have been arrested, in its progress at that place.

The Accounts for Outfit 1837 were closed on the 14th Sept. & exhibit a much more favourable result than could have been anticipated in the early part of the season, and compared with last year a considerable increase both of Returns & Profits. At Fort McLoughlin the business of the Outfit began with little promise. There was then a remarkable dearth of skins produced in some measure by the manœuvres of the fur owners, who were holding out for better prices, but as the season advanced and no rivals appeared on the coast, their wants became so pressing, that they parted with their furs; even, at a reduced price. With the assurance of not being molested by opposition for the rest of the season a further reduction in the prices would have been attempted; but in an open trade, continually exposed to competition, such measures are seldom hastily adopted or resolutely continued, because from their liability to failure & thereby to defeat not only the object immediately in view, but also occasioning, in other respects, serious injury to the business, there must

always exist a degree of uncertainty as to their ultimate propriety.

If circumstances permitted the introduction of even a very limited measure of retrenchment in the standard of trade at this place it would be of the utmost importance in protecting the interests of New Caledonia, as the proximity of the Western Posts of that District will expose them to be interfered with, by the Native Traders who, at the present Tariff, can buy up the Caledonia furs and retail them on the Coast at a considerable premium. The Bela hoola Tribe, who inhabit McKenzie's Rascals village at the extremity of the North east branch of "Bintincks Arms" & form the connecting link between the Chilcoten Post and Fort McLoughlin have this year furnished nearly, four tenths of its returns, a portion of which is, I strongly suspect, drawn from the interior. For this evil I see, at present, no advisable remedy; as it is difficult to prevent an intercourse which holds out a prospect of great mutual advantage, yet I trust the exertions used in New Caledonia to check its growth, may answer the purpose; and hinder it from becoming of sufficient magnitude to warrant, the expensive alternative of a reduction in the Tariff of that valuable District.

The Outfit for 1837 was brought to a close on the 20th Septr., and, I am happy to state, that there is a considerable improvement, as compared with past years, in the affairs of this Post.

4. The Steam Vessel *Beaver*, under the command of Captain McNeill, was dispatched from Fort Simpson, where she had passed the winter, on the 10th of last March, to commence operations for the season by a visit to Nasse Harbour 36 miles north of the Fort, where about 70 skins were traded; From thence her course was directed to the Southward and she touched, successively, at all the other Fur Marts within the British limits which, excepting the two Forts, are as follows 1st Seal Harbour the summer resort of the Sebassa people, 2d Newitte & 3dly the 1st & 2d Coquilt villages in Queen Charlottes Sound a distance of 320 miles south of Fort Simpson. Returning immediately to Fort Simpson the same Ports were again visited and cleared of Furs, Being next dispatched

to Fort Nisqually in Pugets Sound, she called in passing, at every Trading Port on the way, run to the eastern extremity of Vancouvers Island which Captain McNeil carefully examined, a subject that I intend to introduce in another part of this Letter. After a few days detention at Fort Nisqually her course was again directed to Fort Simpson, the intermediate Tribes of Indians visited and every precaution used to clear the market of furs.

Previously to this last voyage the Vessels rigging which had always greatly retarded her progress, was altered, her heavy spars, a ponderous 9 pounder Gun, and all stores not wanted for immediate use laid up, on shore; these changes having diminished her draught of water and consequent resistance she now travels at the hourly rate of 9 miles, being an improvement in speed of $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile p. hour.

At the instance of Mr. Arthur the Chief Engineer, who represented the necessity of a general inspection into the engine and Boilers, she was laid up five weeks under a course of alteration and repair, after which she was again dispatched to Fort Nisqually, making the same round of visits, as upon her former voyage and taking also Fort Langley in her way; Her return from Nisqually to Fort Simpson where she winters, was the last work of the season. Such has been the active service performed last summer by the *Beaver* having in the course of her several excursions, run a distance of 3504 miles. Her success in Trade has not equalled, the rapidity of her movements, and scarcely exceeds the returns made by the sailing vessels. Indeed for the three last years the furs collected by the shipping, whether few or many employed upon the Coast, differ very little in amount,

Outfit 1835	<i>Lama</i>	returns amtd. to	£3667. 10. 6
1836	<i>Lama</i>	3010. 7. 1	
	<i>Beaver</i>	628. 7. 7	
		<hr/>	
			3638. 14. 8
1837	<i>Beaver</i>		3734. 8. 1

In giving these details, I have perhaps been over minute, but they may probably serve as creteria in estimating her

future utility. On one point there can remain no doubt, that this Vessel and the Two Forts are fully adequate to the protection of the Trade within the very limited range of Coast to which we have now access.

The Ship *Nereide*, commanded by Captain Home, on her return from Fort Simpson, where her cargo, consisting of the Coast supplies for Outfit 1837, had been safely delivered, entered this River on the 20th April 1837, but owing to a succession of calms and contrary winds did not succeed in reaching the Fort until the 14th of May.

In the 14th Paragraph of Chief Factor McLoughlin's letter of 20th March 1837 he communicated his intention of employing this Vessel, for part of the current Outfit, either in the Sandwich Island Trade, or in the Sea Otter hunt, upon the Coast of California; but information having reached us that the ship *Hamilton* Barker Master had touched at Woahoo with a cargo for the N.W. Coast, a departure from the contemplated plan, became, for the time, necessary; and it was determined to dispatch the *Nereide* without delay to Fort Simpson to serve if required as an additional protection to the trade there, an object considered of more real importance to our affairs than the uncertain and contingent advantages accruing from either of the other branches of business. This plan being decided on, arrangements were immediately made to hasten the departure of the Vessel, which on the 30th May, was ready for sea; having on board, a complete supply of trading goods, & Stores for the Forts and Shipping on the Coast. At this urgent moment we were informed of a lawless combination of the crew, who, almost, to a man, refused to serve under Captain Home, on the ground of alleged severity & excessive duty, a circumstance which occasioned a vexatious delay of 17 days. At the request of Captain Home the complaints advanced by the disaffected crew were heard & their several depositions, on oath, taken, but they completely failed in establishing any grievance worthy of attention, and, in fact, their several charges were so unsupported by evidence either direct or circumstantial that no Court in England would have entertained them for a moment. A moderate course was

pursued by Dr. McLoughlin, who felt justly alarmed lest the spirit of insubordination should extend itself to the crews of the other vessels the *Lama* & *Cadboro* then nearly ready for sea; and thereby the business of the whole Naval Department be at a stand. Most anxious also to dispatch the *Nereide* and at the same time willing to try the effect of conciliation, he granted one of the least objectionable of their demands. This step however was not productive of one single good result and it became evident that their resolution was not to be subdued by kindness, as they still insisted on the removal of Captain Home from the command, and no other concession would satisfy them.

A compliance with this unwarrantable demand would have been, in its consequences, equally dangerous and impolitick, and we were forced upon the unpleasant alternative of carrying our point by the use of severe measures.

The mutineers were accordingly put in irons and confined, until they all returned unconditionally to their duty, except two seamen whose obstinacy was not overcome without the infliction of a harsher punishment. This affair terminated on the 17th June when the vessel immediately proceeded on her voyage, touched at Fort McLoughlin to land the supplies and take in the returns of that place, sailed thence to Fort Simpson where she anchored on the 5th August. As neither the *Hamilton* nor other opposition vessels had appeared on the Coast, the *Nereide* not being required there was dispatched for this place on the 26th August having on board the Coast returns for the year. Made the mouth of the Columbia on the 10th Septr., but in attempting to cross the Bar with the wind at N.W. was unfortunately carried out of the channel and forced upon the edge of the south sands, by a sudden change of wind, aided by the strength of a powerful current setting in the same direction. The vessel remained at anchor for 36 hours in this perilous situation, striking heavily at every ebb, and was, under Providence; finally extricated by the unwearied exertions of the crew who, after many fruitless attempts, at length succeeded in heaving her into deeper water, where she was again anchored, until a fair wind should enable

them to double Cape Disappointment. On the morning of the 16th Mr. Allan with a party of 18 men, who, on the first intelligence of the misfortune, had been sent from this place with assistance reached the vessel and on the evening of the following day, she was carried into Bakers Bay, making at the time about two inches of water hourly, but with the furs on board fortunately uninjured.

The damage caused by this accident is very serious, as besides the loss of her rudder false Keel and several minor injuries, we suppose from the wrinkled and uneven state of the sheathing copper that the body of the vessel is likewise much strained. Every exertion was made to repair and refit her in the best possible manner, for which purpose she was hove down, striped of part of the Copper, the garboard seam, caulked and felted and the obviously weak or deficient parts, renewed or strengthened as well as our limited means permitted.

On completing these repairs, she received a full Cargo of Lumber Salmon & Farm Produce for the Sandwich Islands; and sailed from this place on the 11th January last being, at that time, quite tight, but it is difficult to determine how she may acquit herself in rough weather with a heavy sea. Should any indications of debility hereafter appear I will communicate information of the same, to their Honors by the return of the next annual ship; in order, that we may receive, as soon as possible, their instructions with respect to the future disposal of the *Nereide*, and also that measures may be taken to forward another vessel for the country service.

I have now to enter upon a most painful subject the melancholy death of Captain Home and four seamen, of the *Nereides* crew who were drowned; on the 26th of January last, in crossing, this River in the ships Long Boat from Red Bluff where, the vessel was anchored, to Fort George. The weather was moderate when they left the vessel and they were seen running, under a press of sail, in the direction of Tongue Point until concealed from view, by the intervention of a slight snow shower, When the weather cleared up, the Boat could no where be seen, a circumstance that passed unnoticed at the time; but on the following day the protracted absence of the

Party excited some uneasiness. The attention of Mr. Lattie one of the Officers on board was attracted by an unusual object appearing about mid channel, which on examination, was found to be the Mast head of the absent Boat: lying there submerged, with every rope fast, and every sail extended, as if the Boat had been suddenly overset, by a violent gust of wind leaving the unfortunate crew no time to ease the sheets, or take other measures for their safety and they were probably hurried into their watery grave without a struggle. The vacancy caused by this accident, was filled by Mr. Brotchie late Master of the *Cadboro*; and Mr. Scarborough will succeed to the command of the *Cadboro*.

The *Nereide* crossed the Bar on the 22d of last month (Feby.) and was seen outside crowding all sail for the Sandwich Islands, where, I trust she is now safely arrived.

Mr. Pelly is directed to purchase a return cargo of Sheep, and if the requisite number cannot be procured at the Sandwich Islands, Captain Brotchie has orders to proceed to Monterey where any number of sheep may be bought, and he will proceed with them to Fort Nisqually.

The *Nereide* will afterwards carry the Coast Outfit and most likely visit Woahoo, next winter with a cargo of Lumber.

You are aware that the Schooner *Cadboro* in consequence of her reported unsound state, was dismantled and laid up throughout the winter of 1836 and the spring of 1837; but having, during that period, received considerable repairs, it was determined to put her, once more, into commission, at least for the summer months, to be employed in carrying on the transport, connected with the Posts in the Gulf of Georgia a service, for which, her size and light draught of water peculiarly qualify her. With this view, she dropped down the River, under the command of Mr. Brotchie, on the 10th of June 1837 with the Outfits of Forts Nisqually and Langley on board. Besides these two Posts, Mr. Brotchie had also, orders to touch, both on the outward and return voyage, at Cape Flattery, a part of the coast sometimes visited by rival traders, in order to buy up the skins the Indians might have in their possession. This voyage was not completed until the

14th of August when the Schooner again anchored here with a mixed cargo of Furs and Salmon the returns of the two Posts visited. This cargo was forthwith discharged, replaced by an adventure of goods for the California market, and in the space of four days from her arrival she was again ready for sea, moved down the River, and on the 29th August 10 days later, anchored in the Bay of San Francisco, a degree of expedition worthy of notice and very creditable to the Master. This adventure was consigned to Mr. Rae, who sailed as super-cargo in consequence of Mr. Brotchie's being considered not sufficiently versed in the profound misteries of buying and selling to have the management of affairs in his own hands. The Proceeds were bulky say Tallow Hides and Beef but will do little more than cover expenses.

The *Cadboro* returned from California, on the 12th November, in a leaky state, and was soon after put on the stocks for repair. It was found necessary, to strip of the Copper, renew the trunels, the outer sheathing, the ceiling, and to replace 18 decayed timbers. These repairs are not yet completed but we expect she will be afloat, by the beginning of May, having every part below the Copper, sound and staunch. Next winter we will attempt to repair her top sides, if, on inspection, they be found deficient in strength or soundness.

The work chalked out for the coming year is as follows, 1. To carry goods &c. to the Bay of Trinidad, for the supply of the Southern Trappers who are to assemble there in May; and afterwards probably to make a call at San Francisco. Her second voyage must be to Forts Nisqually and Langley, which may perhaps end with the month of August, and then she will be laid up for repair, or if sound, employed for the winter months, in the Sandwich Island Trade;

The Brig *Lama* returned from California on the 2d May and I am sorry to say the adventure did not clear expenses. She was, without delay, filled with Timber &c. and consigned to Mr. Pelly who, as instructed, delivered vessel and stores to John Bancroft for the sum of \$5500 agreeably to arrangements made, at this place, in January 1837 with that person.

5. The Southern Trapping Party conducted by Mr. Laframboise, arrived here in July with fair hunts; and left us again early in August, having orders to hunt the Feather River, which falls into the Northern Buonaventura, within the limits of the valley. No other place is known where they can be profitably employed, as the Country between this and the valley, has been, of late years, closely hunted and is now greatly impoverished. The valley, itself, with the numerous streams flowing into it, from the surrounding mountains have all been visited and their stores of Beaver considerably reduced. Feather River, where the Party winter, is the only known exception, its sources remain still unexplored; and if Mr. Laframboise is disappointed in that quarter, he will have no alternative but that of pushing forward to the mouth of the Buonaventura, where a good hunt may be made, if the Mexican Authorities in California do not throw obstacles in the way.

Mr. Laframboise is directed to lead his people in May next to the Coast, near the Bay of Trinidad, where the *Cadboro* will be sent with goods and Traps to enable them to make a fresh hunt, before coming here, thereby avoiding the expense, risk and loss of time which a long and difficult journey would occasion, besides the additional, and not unimportant advantage, of having our Trappers placed beyond the influence of opposition.

6. Our proceedings in the Snake Country have been fully detailed in the 18th 19th & 20th Paragraphs, of Chief Factor McLoughlin's of 31st October 1837, to the Governor and Committee, copy of which is transmitted and I will, at present merely touch upon a few points, relative to that section of the District not hitherto mentioned.

In addition, to a strong body of Trappers, we have two establishments in the Snake Country, Forts Boisé and Hall built on the banks of Lewis, or Great Snake River, the former near the confluence of Reeds and the latter above Portneuf River.

Fort Hall was bought last autumn from Wyeth's Company, and promises to become a valuable acquisition not only from its fur trade which is considerable but also from the protection it affords to our Posts on the Columbia. There is around these

forts a numerous assemblage of Panaks, Shoshones, and Shoshokos, cognate Tribes, living with each other, on terms of amity. They were for a long period a poor and greatly oppressed race but since becoming generally possessed of fire arms, they have bravely maintained their independence, and now occupy a respectable position among their former oppressors. 'Tho' an equestrian and exceedingly errattick people we have hopes of introducing among them more settled habits of life and leading them to devote more of their time to Fur hunting; an object worthy of attention, as we are likely to derive from their exertions, more certain and extensive benefit, than we have reason to anticipate from the lawless and turbulent free white Trappers, now employed as Beaver Hunters. Mr. McKay lately arrived from Fort Hall and reports that its affairs as well as of the Snake Country generally are in a prosperous state.

There is on Outfit 1837 an increase of Trade and Profits as will more clearly appear in an abstract contained in the 10th Paragraph of this letter. We will forward the Snake Outfit in a few weeks hence, and adopt every means to fortify our tenure of that country. I may state as a general principle that we will to the utmost promote native industry and endeavour to push the American Trappers in our service into the Youta Country south of Great Salt Lake.

7. The Trade of Fort Nisqually Pugets Sound, has been on the decline since the close of Outfit 1835; and whatever may be the cause, it is still in active operation, as there is a further reduction on the Returns of this year; ascribed by Mr. Kittson who is in charge, to the prevalence of disease among the natives, and the wars existing between several of the Tribes inhabiting the Sound, who display in their mutual intercourse an uncommon bitterness of hostility. Many savage murders have been committed and in their few accidental meetings at the Fort Mr. Kittson could with difficulty restrain them from a general & open appeal to arms. The habitations of many of these Tribes are remote and they seldom visit the establishment, so that we have few opportunities of acquiring influence over their minds, otherwise we might soon effect a general pacification. I shall write to Mr. Kittson on this subject and

recommend such steps as I conceive necessary for its attainment. Tho' the soil around Fort Nisqually is of an inferior quality, the Post derives much benefit from its farm, it is tilled by the regular establishment of men belonging to the place, without any additional expense, except the very moderate cost of implements. Under different circumstances the land would certainly not repay the expense of cultivation. The following is a statement of the last crop, considered to be a fair average one

Barley	sowed	6	Bus.	reaped	6
Indian Corn	„	$\frac{3}{8}$	„	„	20
Oats	„	5	„	„	35
Pease	„	20	„	„	100
Wheat	„	25		„	113
		<u>$56\frac{3}{8}$</u>			<u>274</u>
Potatoes	„	37	„	„	385

8. The affairs of Fort Langley have not, in all respects closed so prosperously this season as usual. The Fur Trade suffered greatly from the interference of the "Coquilts" of Queen Charlottes sound, who have succeeded in opening a friendly intercourse with the "Musquiams" inhabiting the country at the mouth of Frasers River, and have diverted into another channel, the Trade formerly derived by Fort Langley, from the Gulf of Georgia. This evil arises from the difference between the Fort Simpson and Fort Langley Fur Tariffs, which, in general, exceeds 100 p. cent, that is, the former pays 10/- and upwards in goods whilst the latter gives only 5/- for a Large Beaver skin. Such a disparity in prices, will inevitably prove injurious to the interests of this Post, an effect which we cannot check, neither is it within our power to introduce any thing like economy or system more than now exists, into the affairs of the Coasting Trade as long as it remains open, and exposed to the disorganizing visits of opposition. All that can now be done in protecting the Fort Langley Trade, must be accomplished by means of Trading Parties and, if not too dangerous, we shall try their effect next summer; The Salmon

fishery was very productive, and yielded 350 Barrels of Salmon for exportation besides the quantity required for Fort use. The crop (1837) was much injured by the wetness of the harvest season and a quantity of the grain lost, but enough was secured for the year's consumption.

9. The business of Fort Vancouver may be said to consist of three distinct branches, varying in their details, and general management, and having no real connection but the common interest that they are all designed to promote. These are the Indian Trade, the Farm & Saw Mill, each of importance and meriting a separate notice, which I intend to bestow upon them in as brief a manner as possible. Connected with the Indian Trade I may mention the Outposts of Fort George and the Umpqua River which receive their supplies through the Indian Store of this place. Nothing worthy of special attention, out of the common routine of business, occurred during the past year at Fort George; the Natives have been uniformly quiet and well disposed, living in peace among themselves and unmolested by their neighbours.

The case was different with the Umpqua Indians the fiercest, most untractable and vindictive of all the lower Columbia Tribes. The[y] lately carried their daring so far as to menace their Post with distruction, a circumstance that for a time occasioned a considerable degree of annoyance and anxiety. The sole cause I believe of this irritation was the prevalence among the tribe, during the latter summer months of an unknown and fatal disease attended by alarming mortality which they charitably ascribed to our ill offices. The storm however blew over or spent itself in words, and all traces of irritation are I trust effaced from their minds as the former friendly understanding appears to be quite restored. Last year a small farm was begun at the Umpqua, that yielded a fair crop of grain and esculents the ensuing crop will probably suffice to feed the people of the Post and render them independent of the Natives whereby a saving of expense will be effected. A few head of domestic cattle and swine sent there are also in a thriving state.

The Trade of the Umpqua, and of Fort Vancouver are about equal to last year, but Fort George is considerably less,

so that there appears a reduction in the general returns. From a comparison of the accounts current of the present and past Outfits, the balance will show greatly in favour of the latter, in consequence of the returns of the Southern Party that previously to this year, were always blended with the Indian Shop furs, being now, kept in a separate account.

The method hitherto most successfully pursued in the management of the Farm, is a rotation of grain with occasional hoe crops, keeping the soil in good heart, by fallowing and manures, the latter operation being most commonly performed by folding the cattle upon the impoverished land. Under this system the average produce from an acre of our best ground seldom exceeds 20 Bus. Wheat or 30 Bus. Pease or 50 Bus. Oats or 40 Bus. Barley and the poorer soils yield 100 p. Cent less. The following statement will convey a tolerably correct idea of the extent of surface and varieties of soil comprised within the limits of the Farm, which in fact includes nearly all the arable land, in this neighbourhood, and about half of it is annually under tillage viz.:

	<i>Acres good Land always available</i>	<i>Acres good Land subject to inundation From the River floods</i>	<i>Acres poor shingly Land never overflows</i>
In the Fort Plain	76	203	178
„ „ West do. distant fm. 2 to 3 miles	95	52	37
In the 1st North Plain distant 3 miles			100
In the 2d North Plain distant 6 miles			120
	<hr/> 171	<hr/> 255	<hr/> 435
			255
			171
		Total	<hr/> 861 acres

Last summer the Farm was laid out in the following order, and we had a fair average crop, 139 Bus. Wheat 130 Bus. Oats, 51 Bus. Barley 176 Bus. Pease and 270 Bus. Potatoes, we will endeavour this year to sow as much grain as possible and otherwise devote every attention to promote the interests of this very important branch of our affairs.

The prosperity of the general business, is so intimately connected with the agricultural operations, and depends, so much upon the possession of an ample and regular supply of Provisions, that it long since became a desideratum with us to secure independently of the rising crop, a full years provisions, in advance, and it is now attained, as our barns contain a sufficient quantity of the more useful kinds of grain to meet the home and outward demand, at a reasonable calculation, for the next eighteen months. The Farm stock consisting of Horned Cattle, sheep and swine, are in a thriving state, and collectively now too numerous for the limited pastures around this place, wherefore it was found necessary to disperse the horned cattle and they are at present separated into three herds, one kept here, another, at a distance of 18 miles west on the south side of the River, and the third upon the Multnoma Island where a dairy is also kept that will nearly cover the expenses of herding the cattle. In the early part of summer we will send 150 or 200 head of Cattle to the Cowelitz or Fort Nisqually either of these places tho objectionable in some points, is on the whole considered more suitable for the Pasture Farm recommended in the 3d Paragraph of the Governor and Committee's Dispatch of 25 Jany. 1837 than any other north of the Columbia. We would have given the preference to the Falletey Plains a section of country situate west of the Wallamatte, abounding with excellent herbage, well watered, enjoying in winter, a temperate climate and in short surpassing the Nisqually District in every natural advantage; but were deterred from making choice of it, by its distance from our Establishment and its being South of the Columbia, within American Territory.

Our present flock of Sheep consists of 15 Rams 361 ewes & wethers and 142 Lambs of the season; by bestowing upon them the necessary degree of care we may trust to a rapid increase, but the wool is coarse and needs a cross to improve it.

For this purpose I would beg to recommend that a few rams of the Merino, or Cheviot or other valuable wool breeds, be sent out by the annual Ship from England. If we could succeed in covering the plains of the Columbia with flocks of sheep, we may provide a valuable succedaneum for Beaver, and open a much more extensive trade than the present.

The Saw Mill works from 6 to 10 saws and when in full operation employs 25 men classed as Hewers, carters, fodderers Rafters sawyers, and one overseer.

When in repair, it cuts 1500 square feet of one and two inch Boards on an average every week. If it worked steadily at this rate, we could furnish if necessary at least double the quantity of Lumber annually sold in the Sandwich Island market, but the fracture of machinery and other accidents proceeding in a great measure from the inexperience and remissness of workmen, cause much loss of time and many vexatious delays, we greatly feel the want of a gang of trained sawyers who would take an interest in the work, and be kept exclusively engaged about the Mill. Hitherto it has been out of our power to attend sufficiently, to this object, as our ablest and best men, are often called of by other more pressing duties, and the Saw Mill work must then be committed to people quite unqualified to do it justice. However, even under the system, we are now constrained to pursue, we will contrive to keep the disposable shipping in constant occupation and think fully to meet the demands of the Sandwich Islands.

10. Under each of the several heads already noticed I have mentioned in general terms the state of affairs at the close of the Outfit, I will here subjoin a comparative statement which will bring the whole into one connected view.

For	Outfit 1836			Outfit 1837		
	Returns	Loss	Profit	Returns	Loss	Profit
Ft. Simpson	4263 11 6		1556 8 5	6122 5 10		2989 4 10
Ft. McLoughlin	2418 1 2		933 14 2	3209 14 2		1586 9 2
Steamer <i>Beaver</i>	628 7 7	1446 6 5		3741 3 1	155 13 10	
<i>Nereide</i>		396 1 .			548 8 7	
<i>Cadboro</i>	207 14 11	67 14 10				190 14 8
<i>Lama</i>	3010 7 1		472 2 1			395 17 3
Southern Party				2314 15 1		831 5 6
Snake Party	1610 18 6		530 18 8	3413 13 4		634 2 10
Ft. Nisqually	1970 12 5		1078 15 6	1386 . 10		690 17 3
Ft. Langley	2333 18 6		1428 17 2	2134 6 8		1161 18 6
Ft. Vanr. Depot			1291 4 6		1216 18 5	
" " Ind. Shop	5344 11 7		3294 15 7	3452 5 9		1985 1 3
" " Sale "			1665 3 2			1613 5 10
1st Monterey adven.					87 18 .	
2d " "						66 18 .
General Charges		1398 10 9			1511 0 6	
		3308 13 .	12251 19 3		3519 19 4	12145 15 1
			3308 13 .			3519 19 4
			8943 6 3			8625 15 9

The last was a prosperous year, and the present may likewise be ranked in the same scale, and I hope that equal results will continue to crown our exertions.

11. In a former part of this letter, I mentioned that Captain McNeill, when cruising in the *Beaver* had examined the east and Southern Coast of Vancouvers Island in search of an eligible spot for the erection of a new establishment and I will now relate the particulars of his voyage. The survey strictly speaking commenced at Newitti near the north end of the Island and proceeded through Johnstones Straits and the Gulf of Georgia to Pt. Gonzalo. The longitudinal range of Low Mountains that occupies a large portion of the Island, is at Newitté and South of Point Mudge at some distance from the coast, leaving in its vicinity near those places a small extent of level ground, but it is rocky and barren, thickly wooded with Pines, and without any particular advantage of situation. On reaching the South end of the Island, a decided improvement was observed in the appearance of the Country. Three good harbours of easy access, were found west of Point Gonzalo, at two of which, Captain McNeill passed a few days.

The land around these harbours is covered with wood to the extent of half a mile, interiorly, where the forest is replaced by a more open and beautifully deversefied Country presenting a succession of plains with groves of Oaks and pine trees, for a distance of 15 or 20 miles. The most Easterly of the harbours 10 miles West of Point Gonzalo is said to be the best on the Coast and possesses the important advantage, over the other, of a more abundant supply of fresh water furnished by a stream 20 Yards wide, which after contributing to fertilize the open Country, flows into it. The plains are said to be fertile and covered with luxuriant vegetation; but judging from a sample of soil brought here, I think it rather light and certainly not the best quality, admitting even this disadvantage, I am persuaded that no part of this sterile & Rock bound Coast will be found better adapted for the site of the proposed Depot or to combine, in a higher degree, the desired requisites, of a secure harbour accessible to shipping at every season, of good pasture, and, to a certain extent, of improvable tillage land.

12. Mr. Chief Trader Cowie having been permitted to return to Europe by the route of Mexico and there being no probability of Mr. Benjamin McKenzie's recovery, I beg to call your attention to the subject of replacing these Gentlemen by the return of the Express, one to be stationed in the Snake Country and the other for General service.

It being also necessary to take measures for replacing the Steam Vessels Engineers, I lately spoke to Mr. Arthur on the subject of renewing his contract and he agrees to prolong it for an indefinite period, pledged to give two years notice, before leaving the service, provided that his pay be advanced from £14 to 16 Guineas p. month from the expiration of his present agreement. The company is bound to continue his pay until landed in England say 8 months after his services cease and the substitute will be nearly as long before he is employed, making altogether 16 months at £14 or £224 the expense in wages alone of effecting an exchange of Engineers. It now remains for you to determine whether he is to be retained on these terms or not. Instead of an assistant

Engineer Mr. Arthur would prefer a good Blacksmith, who is capable of making & repairing machinery.

For this place we will require an able & experienced Mill wright to replace Crate, who is a very inefficient workman, and is besides anxious to leave us, and 2 good Blacksmiths, and the 2 Coopers we wrote for last year. With respect to the men wanted for the service of Outfit 1838, we will require a number equal to the retiring servants who are now leaving the District, and should you decide on the erection of the New Depot, in De Fuca Straits, 20 recruits in addition to the former will hardly suffice to carry that object into effect.

I have the honor

To Remain

Dear Sir

Your very Obt. St.

(signed) JAMES DOUGLAS

Fort Vancouver 21st Oct. 1838¹

From James Douglas

To The Governor Deputy Governor and
Committee Hon. Hudson's Bay Coy.

HONBLE. SIRS

I have much pleasure in continuing the subjects of the 15th & 16th Paragraphs of my letter of the 18th inst. by communicating intelligence of the *Cadboro's* safe return to this River, yesterday, with the furs of the Southern Trapping Party. Mr. Chief Trader John McLeod who accompanied the vessel, on her late cruize, reports, that according to instructions, they made direct for Cape Mendocino, and continued running to the southward close in by the land, without discovering any traces, whatever, of the Party, or being able to ascertain through Mr. Laframboise or the other Trappers on board, the encampment, occupied during their summer visit to the Coast. One point was certain, that a vigilant outlook,

¹ B. 223/b/20, fos. 30-32.

must have seen the vessel from the shore, and, as the signals were not answered, Mr. McLeod judged correctly that the Trappers had retired into the Valley of the Buonaventura. That contingency had not been overlooked in forming our plans, and the provision made to meet it, was to anchor the vessel in a reported harbour, near Cape Mendocino, and to dispatch, from thence, Mr. Laframboise with a few men into the Valley, in search of his people. No safe harbour could, however, be found where the vessel might be anchored, in security, to await his return, and Mr. McLeod, notwithstanding the anticipated resentment of the Calefornian Government, decided on running for the Russian settlement of Fort Ross, near Port Bodega, where, he met with very unusual kindness from the hospitable Commandant Captain Alexander, who would accept of no compensation, for the liberal supplies of fresh provisions, sent on board the *Cadboro*; and furnished, in the same friendly manner, a pilot to carry the Vessel into harbour, at Bodega. Being then, at the point of coast nearest to the Buonaventura, the next pressing object was to obtain horses, to push forward the landsmen, on board, into communication with the Trappers in the Valley; and while, Mr. McLeod was perplexed in devising the ways and means, he went, by invitation, on board a Russian Frigate, lying close by, and was introduced to his Excellency Captain Kaupryanoff Governor of the Russian American Colonies; then on a visit at Bodega. On his Excellency's ascertaining that Captain Michel (Laframboise) was on board the *Cadboro*, he expressed a great curiosity to see the person so celebrated, in Calefornia, and Captain Michel, no ways deficient in tact, during a subsequent interview, took the liberty of intreating his Excellency's aid, in enabling him to rejoin his people, & with much address obtained the loan of twelve horses. That number being inadequate to the purpose, Mr. McLeod, as a sort of desperate resource, dispatched a courier to General Vallijo of Calefornia, to solicit assistance. In the course of a few days, a number of horses, accompanied by a polite letter stating their price, and a readiness, on his part, to provide any further assistance wanted, arrived from the General. This

timely succour enabled Mr. McLeod, without the aid of his Russian friends, to dispatch Laframboise & ten men, to the Buonaventura, where they arrived, in safety; found the Trappers at Feather River, and hurried back with them, to the Vessel. No time was lost in shipping the furs and afterwards in supplying the Trappers for the winter; after these arrangements were completed, the Party under command of Mr. Laframboise, proceeded to their hunting ground, in the Valley, and will again try their fortune in the same field as last year, where, from the abundance of Beaver, there is still a fair prospect of success. They will assemble in May 1839, at Trinidad Bay, to deliver their furs, and take supplies for another hunt: as that place is well known, to them, I hope we will escape the anxiety and derangement caused by their misadventures of this year.

His Excellency Captain Kaupryanoff informed Mr. McLeod, that he had received orders from his Government, to open the navigation of the Stikine River, to British Vessels, and that we were, consequently, at liberty, to pursue our plans of settlement in that quarter; but owing to the natural difficulties of the River, he was assured we would not succeed, as it ceases to be navigable, for any vessels larger than common Boats, at an inconsiderable distance, above its discharge into the sea. We, of course, cannot implicitly rely on such statements, from doubtful authority; but they acquire some claim to credit, from the striking coincidence, they evince, in many points respecting the general character of the River, with reports received from the Natives. His Excellency exhibited, some displeasure, when told of the successful achievements of our land arctic Expedition; having both a stout vessel and a land force of forty men, at present, specially engaged in that attempt; and he thinks, not without reason, that, the Company have robbed him of his anticipated triumph over British enterprise.

The *Nereide* has also just arrived with the Fort Langley returns. The affairs of that place are not improved since last year, but Mr. Yale reports that the activity formerly displayed by the Pedlars from the Coast, has, of late, considerably

abated, and he hopes that the preventive measures aluded to, in reporting on the business of Fort Simpson, will altogether arest their interference. The Salmon fishery has been productive and the Crops fair.

The *Nereide* will be sent to the Sandwich Islands as soon as we have a cargo of Boards ready for shipment, which will, I hope be in the course of next month.

As several of the Seamen who served under the late Captain Home, are now proceeding to England per the *Columbia*, I forward see No. 32 a statement of occurrences on Board the Steamer *Beaver* May 6th 1836, which forms a useful exposition to William Burris letter, and will enable you to decide upon the justice of any future complaint preferred on the same grounds. There are also forwarded 2 Charts of the Columbia Bar and a drawing of the land, which may be useful to officers unacquainted with the River.

Having already greatly trespassed on your time, and completed the review of every branch of the business, I have now only to hope that the *Columbia*, will reach England, with her valuable cargo in safety.

I Remain

Honourable Sirs

Your very Obedt. Servant

JAMES DOUGLAS

Fort Vancouver 4th Novr. 1838

From James Douglas
To The Governor Deputy Governor and
Committee Hon. Hudson's Bay Coy.

HONBLE. SIRS

I dispatched the Barque *Columbia*; from this place, on the 18th of last month; but owing to a passage protracted, by unfavourable weather, beyond all precedent, she has not yet reached Fort George; and I am in consequence, enabled to

communicate the arrival of Chief Trader Tod,¹ on the 31st Ult. with a detachment of the recruits from York Factory. The main body were detained, on the Upper Columbia, by want of the necessary craft, to convey them, from the Mountains to Fort Colvile, and cannot be expected here, before the 7th or 8th of the present month.

I have to acknowledge by the above arrival, Governor Simpsons communication of 6th March 1838. We received information last summer through the American rendezvous, of the discussion in Congress, relative to the Boundary question, and the formation of a military Post at the mouth of the Columbia River, and I am sorry that these reports are receiving confirmation from more authentic sources.

The effect of such measures upon our affairs, need not be described; you may rest assured that no exertion shall be wanting on my part, to counteract their influence, and to promote, by every possible means, the important interests committed to my charge: neither will we withdraw our people from the South side of the Columbia, nor in any manner contract our operations, in trade, until officially directed so to do.

With respect to the extension of the Farm, and erection of Grist and agricultural machines, my former letter, will inform you of the steps already taken in forwarding these objects, which can never be advanced with the degree of expedition desirable, as we have always more work on hand, than our means are able, fully, to cope with.

I will attend to your instructions for the entertainment of any of her Majesty's Officers, who may visit us, or need our aid, and further assist the Catholic Mission, in the manner and to the extent you direct. On all other points, not here noticed, I beg to assure you of my anxious desire fully & zealously to co-operate with your general views and Have the Honour to be

Honourable Sirs

Your very Obt. Servant

JAMES DOUGLAS

¹ B. 223/b/20, fos. 34-34d.

Fort Vancouver 7th Novr. 1838¹

From James Douglas
To The Governor Deputy Governor and
Committee Hon. Hudsons Bay Co.

HONBLE. SIRS

I resume the pen to address you with feelings indistinguishably painful, having to communicate intelligence, of a most distressing event, in the Upper Columbia, whereby twelve lives have been lost.

In my letter of the 4th Inst. I mentioned the arrival, at this place, of Chief Trader Tod with a detachment of the York Factory recruits, and noticed the cause which had made it necessary for him to leave the bulk of the party behind. A Boat which Mr. Tod had sent back from the Upper Columbia Lake, left the Boat Encampment on the 22d October with the last of the party. In the evening of the same day, when running one of the Rapids below Dalles des Morts, the Boat unfortunately filled, and the following persons perished in attempting to gain the shore

Mr. and Mrs. Wallace	} Botanists
Mr. Banks	
Mr. Leblanc	} in the Coys service
and his three children	
Keneth McDonald	
Fabien Vital	
J. Bte. Laliberté	
Two Children of André Chalifoux	

in all twelve persons, who have travelled from their distant homes to find an untimely grave, beneath the raging waters of the Columbia.

These particulars, without any additional information, were made known to us within the last hour, by an express from Chief Trader McDonald at Fort Colvile. The other individuals of the party were well; but we cannot expect them here

¹ B. 223/b/20, fos. 36-36d.

before ten or twelve days: I send this note to Fort George, by express, in hopes it may still overtake the *Columbia* before she leaves the River. I Remain

Honourable Sirs

Your very Obt. Servt.

JAMES DOUGLAS

(II) SNAKE COUNTRY EXPEDITION

No. 3

Fort Vancouver 20th June 1825¹

From John McLoughlin to
Mr. P. S. Ogden Chief trader
Honble. H.B. Company

SIR

We have made out your Outfit for the Snakes on the same scale as last Year with the additional Articles you require, and it is to be left at Walla Walla untill Intelligence Is received from you. However should you be able to come here by the Willamette we have wherewith yet in store to supply all your demands—It is unfortunate you did not follow up the plan settled on last fall, but as this was not in your power it is useless to speak of it now; the great Inconvenience attending this change is that we do not know where we ought at once send your supplies and this may prevent your men reaching their hunting ground in due Season to hunt Beaver—I send you all the provisions we can put in the Boats. Your own Judgement

¹ B. 223/b/1, fo. 9-9d.

will point out the necessity of losing no time in taking back your party to their Hunting ground. You will be aware the Vessel will leave this for England about 20th August and I mention this that in case you come by Walla Walla you may be able to Judge when there whether you can be down in time to Ship the Furs for England. But in doing this you ought to take in consideration that you ought not to come here if it prevents your returning in due time to your hunting ground. Your knowledge of the country will enable you to direct your course better than I can advise—I can only say It is expected you will so [arrange] your plans that you bring your Furs next year to this place in time to Ship them to market. If you think there is an impossibility for so doing or that it will prevent your hunting you must point out where we are to send your supplies so as we may (if possible) co-operate with your views without sacrificing any important object or Exposing you (if your demands are in our power) to any disappointment—It is intended Mr. Finan McDonald will leave this about the 5th July Accompanied by twenty six men. They are Expected to hunt in a tract of country East of the Willamette—they are to cross over the Mountains leaving the Willamette on the West and proceed then as far south as they can—the Mountains can be crossed from the Middle of June to the Middle of October—the Party are expected out in June next.

If the Gentlemen at Spokane receive certain information of your Intending to come out at the Flat Heads they are directed Immediately to forward your Supplies (with the assistance Mr. Dease can give) to that place—You will have the Goodness to write me fully all your plans and views and let me know every thing of Importance that has occurred or been seen by you on your Expedition.

I am Sir

Yours truly

JNO. McLOUGHLIN

Copy of a letter from Mr. P. S. Ogden to the Governor Chief Factors and Chief Traders Honb. Hudsons Bay Compy. N. distr. York Factory.¹

dated Snake Plains

June 27th 1824 [1825]

GENTLEMEN

Four of the Saskatchewan freemen in company with 150 Pegans reached my camp last night and are now on the eve of starting, but as they inform me they will not start to Fort Augustus before November, I shall not at present enter into particulars until the Fall when a more direct opportunity will offer, suffice it therefore to inform you, that since the month of February, one series of misfortunes has attended the Expedition entrusted to my charge, in February one of the Iroquois was killed, in March the ice and Snow prevented us from proceeding, and a party of 6 Men were again attacked by a war-party but effected their escape (blood Indians) they however again made another attempt on our horses and succeeded in Stealing 18 horses, on the 1st April we reached the Great Snake River, and commenced trapping with tolerable Success but were not long allowed to remain quiet, for on the 5th a War-party of Blood Indians killed (Antoine Benoit a freeman) while in the act of raising his traps, took his Scalp 16 Beavers and three horses and effected their escape, this caused me some trouble to induce the Freemen to proceed in the direction I wished and succeeded, all was then going on well, but again of short duration for on the 23d a party of Blood Indians & Piegans succeeded in again stealing 20 horses from the Freemen, this was a severe blow, and again the Freemen were determined to abandon the country, however threats and promises had the desired effect: on the 5th May we reached Bear River supposed by our Party of 1818 M. Bourdon who were at its sources to be the Rio Collarado, but it is not the case, we followed it down, and found it discharged in a large Lake of 100 Miles in length, we were well repaid for our trouble and were averaging 80 Beaver per diem until the 20th

¹ D. 4/119, fos. 10d.-12. Cf. p. 8, n. 2.

May when we met with a worse [disaster:] that damn'd all cursed day that Mr. Ross consented to bring the 7 Americans with him to the Flat heads: on this day we met with a party of 25 Men, Canadians, Americans and Spanjards, and in the evening they were joined by another party of Americans 30 in number with the American colors, headed by one Gardner, they encamped within 100 yards of our encampment *he*, Gardner lost no time informing all *hands* that they were in the United States Territorys and that they were all free, engaged or indebted, and to add to this they would pay 3½ dollars for Beaver and Goods cheap in proportion. The ensuing morning Gardner came to my Tent, and after a few words of no import, he questioned me as follows: do you know in what Country you are? to this I replied I did not as it was not settled between Great Britain and America to whom it belonged, to which he made answer that it was, that it had been ceded to the latter, and as I had no licence to trade or trap to return from whence I came without loss of time, to this I replied when we receive orders from our own Government when we shall obey, then he replied remain at your peril, he then left me, and on seeing him go into an Iroquois (John Gray) Tent, I followed him, on entering this Villain Gray said I must now tell you that all the Iroquois as well as myself have long wished for an opportunity to join the Americans, and if we did not sooner it was entirely owing to our bad luck our not meeting with them, but this year we had taken our precautions, alluding to the 7 Americans who had wintered and left us in April and again joined here, but now we go and all you can say or do cannot or will not prevent us from going. Gardner now said, you have had these poor Men already too long in your service and have most shamefully imposed on them, selling them Goods at most extravagant rates and giving them nothing for their Skins. He then retired, Gray then became most abusive particularly with regard to the Gentlemen he had been with in the Columbia, but as for you Sir you have dealt fair with us all, and shortly after this villain was nearly shooting me, he then gave orders to raise Camp and immediately all the Iroquois followed the example also N. W. Montour with 4 of the once Saskatchewan

freemen, in all 21; at this time the Americans with Gardner at their head accompanied by two of our Iroquois who deserted from our party in 1821 advanced to support and assist all who would join them. Lajaux an Iroquois now called out we are in numbers far greater, let us pillage, on saying this he cock'd his gun and took his aim, another then seized two of the Companys horses, but Mr. Kitson Mr. McKay and two of the engaged Men coming to our assistance we saved them but not without enduring the most opprobrious terms from both Americans and Iroquois. Thus we were overpowered by numbers and with the exception of a part they succeeded in carrying off their Furs to the amount of 700 Beavers—in fact many of them had conveyed them in the night to the American camp. Situated and circumstanced as I then was, not knowing friend from foe, I cannot but consider it was a fortunate circumstance I did not fire; had I, I have not the least doubt all was gone, Furs and property, indeed this was their Plan I should fire and assuredly they did all the could to make me, but I was fully aware of their Plan and so saved what remained, before this affair we had nearly Three thousand Beaver and were doing well. As we were on the eve of starting Gardner came forward and said you will see us shortly not only in the Columbia, but at the Flatheads and Cootannees as we are determined you shall no longer remain in our Territory, to this I made answer, when we receive orders from our own Government to leave the Columbia we would but not before, we then separated.

My course from the Flatheads had been nearly South east, and at this time I considered myself within 10 days march of the Umqua River intending to take a South West Course, but finding myself with only 20 trappers, I was obliged to retrace back my steps and allowing my numbers to have been greater I am not of opinion it would have been good policy in me to have open'd a short cut for the Americans to Fort George, we have done enough and suffered also without increasing the load. I cannot enter into particulars, but last Fall nine Americans were killed by the Snakes, this was owing to our Iroquois last year who separated from Mr. Ross and killed a Snake chief, and the Snakes who were formerly the most

friendly to us are now the reverse. On making the great Snake River on my Return, I proposed to the Freeman to proceed towards the Walla Walla country but in vain, let us proceed to the Kootannies there probably we may remain quiet and unmolested, but in this quarter we never can do anything but increase our debts; the next day Ten Flatheads reached us, their camp of 20 Lodges being near I then proposed to them to steer to the quarter Mr. McDonald was obliged to abandon from the loss of Five of his Men, to this all assented, and again we began to take a few Beaver, when another party of Americans were discovered trapping and coming from the quarter we were bound to, we then took a more Northerly course and for the last three days have not seen a Beaver, but warriors by hundreds. We have now nearly Three thousand Beaver, and I have still some hopes of adding another, but really am at a loss where to stir. You need not anticipate another expedition ensuing Year to this Country, for not a freeman will return, and should they, it would be to join the Americans, there is Gentlemen a wide difference with their prices and ours, they have opened a communication with waggons over land from St. Louis to the first Spanish Settlement call'd Taa's where they fit out their Trappers and receive their Furs in return and they say they intend reaching the Columbia also with Waggons, not impossible so far as I have seen. Gentlemen I trust you will excuse this scrawl once, if I have not been more particular I trust you will attribute it to my being surrounded by nearly Two hundred Indians and anxiety of mind which I labour under. Believe me with respect,

Yr. obed. humb: Servt.

signed PETER SKEEN OGDEN

About 40 Piegan Tents appear determined to remain in this quarter, I have done all in my power to send them back, and have been at some expense with them and have still hopes of succeeding while they remain here: the Flatheads will do nothing and cause of trouble, their Furs I have repriced [*sic*] to trade, but should I see or apprehend any danger of their falling into the American camp I shall secure them.

P. S. O.

No. 10

Fort Vancouver 10th Aug. 1825¹

From John McLoughlin to
Mr. Jno. Work

SIR

In answer to yours of the 29th July I have to observe that at least half of the Snake Outfit or such part of it as Mr. Kittson (who you will consult) thinks will be required ought in due time to be transported to Spokane or the Flat Heads *if necessary* to meet Mr. Ogden. I say to the Flat Heads *if necessary* as I wrote Mr. Ogden my opinion is that he ought to come with the Servants and trappers to Walla Walla and strike off in a direction to form a junction with Mr. McDonald, but as I cannot say whether his party is now sufficiently numerous for the purpose neither can I say whether the Outfit ought to be left at the Spokane or not. Mr. Dease will write you how strong he thinks the party ought to be—however after all I am of opinion allowing the Goods for the Snakes were at Spokane untill you heard from Mr. Ogden you would still have ample time (if required) to send them to The flat heads, but of this you can form a more correct opinion than I.

If you find from the Information Mr. Kittson gives you that Mr. Ogden will not be able to form a party so strong as Mr. Dease thinks will be required to go in the direction to form a junction with Mr. McDonald—in this case you will as soon as possible send a sufficient part of the Snake Outfit to the Flat Heads to enable Mr. Ogden to lose no time to Equip his men and send them to hunt where he may think necessary—You see by this your first object is to give Mr. Ogden every facility (in your power) by transporting the Snake Outfit to where you will learn will best answer the purpose of enabling him to lose no time in Equipping his men to return to hunt as soon as possible, and you will then if you can transfer Spokane Establishment to the Kettle falls—and I feel confident that what can be done you will do. As Matter of opinion I think

¹ B. 223/b/1, fos. 17d.-18d.

it would be more advisable to keep the Snake outfit at Spokane till you have an Answer from Mr. Ogden—when he knows his Outfit is at Walla Walla and that you are to forward it to him he will send you some Instructions about it—In short I have stated to you what is to be done and as many circumstances may arise impossible to be foreseen you will be guided by them in carrying these measures into Effect. I do not think it necessary to send any Gentleman with L'Etang to the Rocky Mountain.

If you can send Mr. Dears to examine the Lower part of the Flat Head River and attend at the same time to what I have already directed you will do it. In case the Americans come to The Flat Head Country they must be opposed as much as we can, but without if possible wasteing property, as the right to Remain there will be decided between the two Governments. I think from Discovery and Occupancy we will have that part of the Country, therefore it is not our Interest to spoil the Indians; however we must do so if necessary, and treat them as liberally as the Americans. As to our right on this side the Mountains the Committee write "That by the treaty of 1818 the Lands on the west side of the Rocky Mountains are free to ourselves and the subjects of the United states for ten years from the date of it which will expire in 1828" by this you will see the Americans have no right to assume any authority or claim this Country as part of their Territory and I feel confident the Company will abandon none of their Establishments untill they are informed our Government has given up its claims to the Sovereignty of the country in which they are situated—of course if Mr. Ogden joins you, you will hand him this and he will direct you on what is to be done.

I am Sir

Yours truly,

JNO. McLoughlin

If discovery gives a right to sovereignty the British Government would be Entitled to the Country north of Lewis's River to where it falls in the Columbia as the late N.W. were the first whites who saw that part of the Country and settled trading posts on it.

No. 11

Fort Vancouver 10th August 1825¹

From John McLoughlin to
Messrs. The Chief factors and Chief traders
Honble. Hudson Bay Company

GENTLEMEN

Yesterday Evening Mr. Deases Messenger arrived with the despatches conveying the Mortifying intelligence of the desertion of our Freemen in the Snakes and of the threat made by a Mr. Gardner that the Americans would be at the Flat Head and Kootonais this fall and would drive us from their Territory; on this latter subject I have only to say that the committee write "that by the treaty of 1818 the lands on the west side of the Rocky Mountains are free to ourselves and the subjects of the United states for ten years from the date of it which will Expire in 1828". And by this you see we are justified in resisting to the Utmost of our power any attack on our persons and property or any assumption of authority over us by the Americans—Indeed so confident am I of our being justified in this that had we a party sufficiently strong to defend itself from the natives and that could be depended on, I would have no hesitation to make another attempt in that quarter if it was merely for one year to defy them to put their threats in Execution and to counter act the evil impression the vaunting assertions of Gardner and the desertion of our Freemen will have on the Indians and remaining freemen. However Mr. Ogdens party I am afraid is too weak and cannot be sufficiently depended on, as I infer by their behaviour at the time the Iroquois walked off with their Furs, Horses and traps, all which were certainly our property, and I think the Engagees evinced the most disgracefull, I might say criminal, neglect of their Duty in not supporting Mr. Ogden to the utmost of their ability, which had they done I am of opinion we would not have suffered the Losses we have

¹ B. 223/b/1, fos. 19-21.

nor the Indignity of seeing people going off with our property and at the same time insulting us in the most opprobrious Language they could Express. There is not a man of the party then present who does not well know that none of them were ever induced to Buy a single Article and that they are in Debt much against our will, and these advances had been made to oblige and accomodate them when at the time we ran the risk of loseing our property by their death, and in return if they did not murder Mr. Ogden and pillage him of the property in his possession it is not from a want of will. But to return—In the present situation of affairs if Mr. Ogden can form a party sufficiently strong he ought to come to Walla Walla and proceed with his people to join Mr. Finan McDonald and assume the command of the whole Expedition. Mr. Dease can best Judge whether this is practicable or not and write his Opinion to Mr. Ogden, and when he receives it he can best decide whether then practicable or not and will Act accordingly—But if Mr. Ogden can not join Mr. McDonald he will send his trappers to hunt in those places they can do so with most advantage and the Engaged men also if in his opinion more benefit will be derived in this way from their Services than in sending them down to this place to be Employed in Extending our trade north and south of the Columbia. If Necessary he will either go or send a Clerk with them as he thinks proper. In the Event of Mr. Ogdens not thinking it necessary to go with the trappers he will assume the Management of Spokane District untill the Express arrives and get the Establishment removed to the Kettle falls and send Mr. Birnie (and if he does not send the servant to trap) with two Engagees to assist Mr. Dease to remove Walla Walla Establishment to the north side of the River; when the Express arrives he will of course if any Gentleman comes to assume the charge give it up and be guided by the Instructions and plans sent In. I think in case he is superseded and that his services can be dispensed with at Spokane he ought to come down here. But at all events all the spare Clerks and men Ought to be sent down so as to assist in Extending the trade as already mentioned. I certainly wish Mr. Ogden to

join Mr. McDonald as I understand the country is rich in Beaver in Beaver [*sic*] and I am of opinion his men would make a better hunt there than in any other part of the country we know, and the party being strong would be more able to stand their ground if the should meet with Americans. The trappers going with Mr. McDonald are in the accompanying list and all Engaged Servants, they are furnished with Every thing to hunt—the Ammunition Expended as well as every thing lost or Broke is paid out of the hunt, the Remainder is divided between the Company and them and they get four shillings for Every skin of their share. A Gun is taken back at Half price deducted from the whole hunt, if Broke the whole hunt must pay for it and the pieces returned to the store.

I am Gentlemen

Yours truly

JNO. McLOUGHLIN

N.B. on consideration I think Mr. Dears will do to assist Mr. Dease Mr. Birnie might be sent to Okanagan and Mr. Annance sent down here, who would Assist us from his knowledge of the Country hereabouts more than any other that could be sent. I would advise sending no one to Mr. Dease till the Express arrives and after knowing what we are directed to do you will be better able to decide on what is to be done. If a Blacksmith comes in he ought to be sent here. If an accident happened to Roussel the Department would have no Iron Works their are none on Hand. Mr. Dease will forward all the Horses to Spokane and any horses that can be spared after Mr. Ogden has what he requires ought to be forwarded to Okanagan with the necessary appichimons and saddles for New Calidonia. I think that place will require altogether ninety Horses, but they perhaps may be sent in the spring in time for New Calidonia. If so it would be as well to wait untill we hear—And in concludeing remember Gentlemen we ought to get all we can from the south side of the Columbia while it is in our power—

(III) COAST TRADE

Captain Simpson's Report¹
of
his voyage to Nass

John McLoughlan Esqre.

SIR

In pursuance of Instructions I had the honor of receiving from you under date 7th July last, The Honble. Compy's Schooner under my command sailed from her moorings off Fort Vancouver on the evening of the 8th accompanied by the Honble. Compy's Brig *Eagle* & schooner *Vancouver*. Our decent of the Columbia continued untill the evening of the 12th when we anchor'd in Bakers Bay; contrary winds & squally unsettled weather detained us at our anchorage untill the 16th when with the ebb tide & a light breeze we ventured out over the bar & proceeded on our voyage to Fort Langley.

In consequence of unfavourable winds & the *Vancouver's* dull rate of sailing (causing considerable detention) we did not arrive at the entrance of the straits of Fucca untill the evening of the 22d. On the afternoon of that day the *Cadbro'* having in light winds drawn considerably ahead of the *Eagle* & *Vancouver* & being by the evening within a short distance of the entrance of the straits I proceeded on so that I might have communications with the Indians & collect any furs they might have previous to the other vessels coming up so that no detention might arise waiting for that purpose.

On drawing towards Tatooche Island, a few canoes came alongside with Indians of that tribe from whom we procured a few furs & a supply of fresh fish, a dense fog now came on which prevented our seeing an object twenty yards distant, upon this we haul'd out to sea untill it should clear up in hopes of falling in with our consorts but the fog still continuing we saw nothing of them till the following day we heard

¹ B. 223/c/1, fos. 19-24d.

Guns & fired in return but did not succeed in joining company. Having appointed Cape Flattery our first rendezvous with a particular understanding that I would not proceed up the straits (in the event of parting company) untill join'd by our consorts & that neither of them should do so I felt satisfied that they had kept out to sea waiting a favourable opportunity to join company. I therefore continued to cruize off the Cape at the entrance of the straits in hourly expectation of meeting them which I supposed was only prevented by the close fog we daily experienced. On the evening of the 26th the weather being clear we ran in for the entrance of the straits when we we [*sic*] visited by Indians from whom I was quite surprised to learn our consorts had proceeded up the straits three nights previous. Indeed I could hardly give them credit as I had so particularly stated my determination (both with Capt. Greaves & Ryan) not to go beyond their rendezvous untill we should all join company. However their proofs were so convincing that I could not doubt them therefore proceeded up the straits intending to call at the second rendezvous (New Dungeness) where I hoped to find them. On the 28th we were off that port but I did not find them anchor'd there—from two Indians who came alongside we learnt that two vessels had a few days before gone up the Gulf of Georgia, we therefore proceeded on for Frazers River & anchor'd off the Sandheads on the forenoon of the 30th & found the *Eagle* & *Vancouver* both at anchor. From Captain Graves I learnt that on the evening of the 23rd when close in with the Clatsop Village at the entrance of Fucca Straits the Indians came alongside & assured him that I had proceeded up in the schooner the preceeding evening & convincing him it was the case, showing him the goods they had traded with me, upon which he believed them & proceeded up to New Dungeness & not finding the *Cadbro'* there, that He in the *Eagle* in company with the *Vancouver* continued at anchor for two days, when they proceeded on for Frazers River. So much time had now been lost by this unfortunate separation & by our tedious passage along the coast that I deem'd it necessary to alter the plan of operations pointed out in your Instructions to me & I plainly foresaw if

the *Eagle* were to ascend the river to deliver her cargo at Fort Langley it would be the middle of August before she would be able to clear Frazers River, which would render it quite impossible to proceed on to the Northward with her & again return to the Columbia in any thing like the time specified in your instructions to me. I therefore determined to transfer the Fort Langley outfit from her to the *Vancouver* & the goods from the coasting trade from her to the *Eagle* that the *Eagle* might immediately accompany the *Cadbro* to Nass, leaving the *Vancouver* to proceed up with the goods to Fort Langley after the delivery of which I agreed with Mr. McDonald that she should make a short trip to the entrance of Admiralty Inlet, New Dungeness &c. for the purpose of trading, Mr. McDonald furnishing goods & a gentleman from Fort Langley establishment for that purpose, when she would again return to Fort Langley for the returns & such other articles as Mr. McDonald might wish to ship for Fort Vancouver. This arrangement with respect to her, I considered as the most judicious, for was she to accompany us to the Northward & afterwards, as you directed her to be dispatch'd back to Fort Langley it was not likely she would arrive at the Columbia in proper time to deliver her cargo, & as it was to form a part of the *Eagles* return cargo to England I directed Capt. Ryan to return to the Columbia by the 25th Sept. at furthest & which I thought he might easily do & perform the several Services pointed out in my instructions to him, a copy of which I beg leave to hand you. On the morning of the 4th Augst. the goods having been transferred & other arrangements completed we sail'd in the *Cadbro* & *Eagle* from Frazers River for Nass, but contrary winds prevailing it was the night of the 11th before we got to the entrance of the straits of the straits of [*sic*] Fucca. Wishing to procure Hyequas & a supply of Fresh Fish from the Cape Flattery Indians we continued of the place till the following forenoon when, having procured a supply of these articles, we proceeded on our voyage to the Northward. From these Indians we learnt that the American Brig *Owhyee* & *Convoy* were anchor'd in Port Discovery. Our voyage up to this period had been so tedious that I was determined to proceed

with all possible dispatch to our farthest & most important point of destination Nass, without waiting for the purpose of trading at intermediate ports; but so slow was our progress to the Nd. that we did not get off Kygarnie the N. point of entrance Dixons Straits untill the forenoon of 24th. While passing it we were visited by a few Indians from whom we heard that two American vessels wer up the straits trading furs. We continued to run for Observatory Inlet & got to its entrance on the following evening but a strong breeze blowing out of the Inlet prevented our getting up to Nass before the eveng. of the 28th when we anchor'd in the outer harbour.

On the 29th The *Cadbro's* & *Eagle's* boats were dispatched under Messrs. Sinclair & Corny to sound the channel a few miles beyond our anchorage, intending if a good channel was found to proceed up with *Cadbro'* as far as our limited time would admit, sending the boats on from our different positions to sound, not wishing to send them too far in advance lest the Indians might feel inclined to act hostilely. On the return of the Boats the Officers reported very favourably of the channel as far as they had proceeded up, which they estimated to be about seven or eight miles, this determined me runing the schooner up the following morning. Very few Indians visited us this day & it appeared the immediate vicinity was uninhabited, the few who visited us having apparently come from some distance up the river, among them was one who spoke a few words of broken English. I tried to gain from him some information respecting the river but could learn nothing satisfactory.

On the morning of the 30th the *Cadbro'* was turn'd through the channel sounded by the boats the evening previous, which was found a good broad channel as will be found on reference to a sketch of the river, as far as we sounded it which I beg leave to hand you. From this position the boats were again dispatched to sound beyond our anchorage (accompanied by two Indians to point them out), on their return I was much disappointed by their reporting that a few miles up above our present anchorage the channel became quite narrow & shallow, rendering the navigation for vessels of any draft very difficult.

In consequence of this report I relinquished my intentions of moving the *Cadbro'* higher up, as I could now speedily determine this point in the boats I therefore on the following morning proceeded with the boats to examine the channel & view a position which from its appearance seem'd best calculated for erecting an Establishment upon that I had hitherto seen, the shores up to this being steep & Rocky, offering an eligible situation to build on. The Channel I found (as reported to me) quite shoal at low water & when deep very narrow, yet as the shoal water does not extend a great distance through the Channel, a vessel might be placed in such a position that at high water might be brought across into the deep Channel that runs along the North shore to the position I allude. I mean such a vessel as the *Cadbro'* will have no difficulty in crossing these channels as at high water the rise is great, close to three fathoms, they will be able to go over the flats without any impediments. This position, which appears to me best calculated for building on, extends back from the banks of the river about three quarters of a mile where a range of Rocky hills take their rise, its extent along the banks may be about one & a half mile with a good Southern Exposure & appears a strong deep soil well calculated to produce vegetables. On the [other] hand it may be objected against it that it is in the cite of several Indian Villages which during a certain season of the year contains a large population who may give a good deal of trouble if inclined to be hostile, but I think a position will be found behind the villages which will command them, as it has considerable slope, & be a sufficient distance from any eminence from which the Indians could give annoyance with Muskettry. Pickets too are not so near as could be wished but pine grows in great abundance on the banks, both below & above it, they could be rafted to the close vicinity of the Fort at once. As vessels can lay at Anchor within Pistol shot of the shore, the Indians can be easily kept at check, the only thing to prevent this is ice in the event of its freezing during the Winter months, this I was anxious to learn from the natives but could not make them understand me. The time of these villages being occupied is I understand during

the spring when the Indians come to reside here for the purpose of catching a small fish call'd by them Stroulum (& resembling the Uttalachae of the Columbia) which they extract an oil from that forms a great article of food amongst them & an article of traffic with other tribes of Indians. A short distance beyond this the river takes a sudden bend to the Nd. I was anxious to proceed to this point in hopes of gaining a view of the river beyond it but could not approach it in the boats in consequence of the Flats which extend quite across the river, having at low water only small channels through them. Our time was now so far drawn beyond that limited in your Instructions that I felt myself under the necessity of relinquishing any further remarks which could now only be carried on with the boats, this being the terminating point of the River being navigable for vessels. I therefore return'd to the *Cadbro'* & work'd her down to the Roadstead where the *Eagle* was at anchor. The Indians had by this time collected in considerable numbers from up the River, Port Essington, Pearl Harbour &c. &c. & as they had furs to dispose of I thought it necessary to give them an opportunity to trade them if we could agree about the prices, which I doubted as their demands were most exorbitant. Early on the 1st Sep. they began to collect about the vessels with their furs but continued to demand a price for them which I could not possibly give but offer'd what I considered very liberal viz. One Blanket for a large Beaver skin. This they refused & return'd to the shore with their skins thinking by these means to bring me to their own terms. They return'd however in the evening when I repeated my offer [with] this addition, that I would give a common Cotton Shirt to every Indian who would sell me two skins, also a few heads of Tobacco; after some consultation among themselves some of them came forward & traded their Furs on these terms. Having now got them to commence trading I made up my mind to stop another day notwithstanding my anxiety to commence our return to the Columbia. I endeavour'd to gain from the most intelligent Indian the extent & capacity of the River some distance up but owing to our total ignorance of their language very little

information could be acquired, indeed it appeared to me that they were not inclin'd to give any, their reason I ascribed to selfish motives, as it strikes me they enjoy a monopoly of the Trade with the Indians of the River which they feel apprehensive they will be deprived of in the event of our settling there: by the accounts of some I suppose it has rapids as they describe its descent as very great. From others I learnt that Canoes navigated it a long way up & that its banks was inhabited. Among these Indians was one who came from some distance up the River & who spoke of Whites in the upper parts of the Country whom he said were there call'd in the Indian language Nitoo's; he had in his possession a small leather fire bag which he said came from the country where the Whites resided, on showing him a Beaver Trap he said that was what the Indians used on the land when the Whites went to catch Beaver & described to the others (who appear'd ignorant of its use) how the castorum was applied to entice the Beaver, this piece of information seems in some measure to corroborate the opinion that this river has its source in New Caledonia & is most probaly the Babine or Simpson River if not the one falling into Port Essington as from the Indian account I should suppose it to be as large as this rive[r]. With respect to the size of this I must acknowledge I feel disappointed, as the body of water it discharges is is considerable it has no comparison to Frazers River & its capacity for the navigation of Vessels extend but a short distance up & from its being bound by mountains of great elevation (even close down to our position) I much fear it will be found too rapid for boats or Canoes passing with goods to the Natives. With respect to its proving a favorable trading post It certainly appears a Country abounding in Beavers (& those of a good quality), tho' the trade owing to the frequent visits of the American Coasters will be at a high Rate, could parties be sent up the River to trade I imagine they could be procured at a much cheaper rate. On the morning of the 3rd we sail'd from Nass, in the following afternoon Cape Northumberland N.W. & Cape Manning West, we fell in with the American ship *Louisa* of Boston, Lambert, employed in the Fur trade;

she has been on the coast for several months and had for a Consort the *Griffon* Brig, Taylor. This vessel I learnt had been sold on her going from the coast to the Sandwich Islands, by her proprietors, Americans, to a company in China who have a gentleman of the name of Cole acting for them as agent at the Sandwich Islands or in his absence Mr. Charlton. A N.W. cargo was purchased at the Islands by these gentlemen & the Brig sent back with it to the coast. Capt. Lambert believed she sail'd under the English Flag. He inform'd me also that the American brig *Convoy* had left that part of the coast some time ago having first sold his N.W. Cargo to him & Captain Taylor. By his accounts Sea Otters were very scarce this season but land Furs on the increase; after a short visit we parted company, the *Louisa* proceeded up the straits of Clarence & we towards Dixons Strs. Contrary winds & close fogs prevailing during our passage down the straits we did not clear them untill the 7th in the evening. The *Eagle* continued in company till the 13th when she parted in a gale of wind from the Ed. & we saw nothing more of her untill our return into the Columbia which in consequence of contrary winds did not take place untill the afternoon of 23rd. The *Eagle* had arrived on the evening of the 20th. On the 22nd we saw a strange Brig which from her appearance & the course she was steering S.W. I took for the American Brig *Convoy* on her way to the Sandwich Islands after having left the Straits of Fucca.

The unexpected length of our Voyage in consequence of a succession of contrary winds prevented our visiting ports for the purpose of trading which I regret as a favourable impression might have been made by visiting a few places tho' I must state the Americans appear to have goods more in demand on this part of the coast than us. Arms & ammunition they sell without limits & ardent spirits in great abundance & these articles with the exception of Blankets I found in greatest demand at Nass. Of the first of these articles I sold none, as for the last, half stock'd Green I had on board, they offered only one Beaver Skin. I regretted being under the necessity of selling a quantity of the latter as I found it impossible to trade without it nor do I see how it can well be avoided till

opposition is done off the coast. Our late arrival at Nass left us far less time than I could have wished for its examination or to give more certain information a longer interview would have been necessary with the Natives as well as a more extensive survey with the boats.

I cannot conclude without expressing my approbation of the prompt assistance I received from Captain Graves & the zeal & activity generally displayed by the Officers & crew employ'd in the Boat Service.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your very faithful & obedient Servant

(Sgd.) ÆMILIUS SIMPSON

Honble. H.B.Cy's. Schooner *Cadbro'*

Columbia River *September 23rd 1830*

Fort Vanr. *5th Octr. 1832.*¹

From John McLoughlin to
P. S. Ogden Esqre.

DEAR SIR,

Your two favors of 27th May & 29th May p. *Lama* Capt. McNeil, & of Augt. 1st p. *Dryad*, Capt. Duncan with the various documents accompanying them, came duly to hand, & I am happy to See that though you had to contend with a strong opposition yet your returns are very fair. I am by no means surprised at your disappointment in not seeing the *Vancouver*; but it was impossible for us to send her.

Previous to Capt. McNeil's arrival, say on the 27th June, Mr. Finlayson sailed on board the *Eagle* with a cargo of timber to Woahoo, to purchase a vessel if he found one to suit our purpose, & in consequence of this I would enter into no arrangement with Captain McNeil.

I am astonished at Baron Wrangall's proposal, & I think there must be some mistake or misunderstanding, as certainly he ought not to expect that the H. Bay Coy. would supply him

¹ B. 223/b/8, fos. 18-20.

with Goods on the Coast at Prime Cost, payable in Bills on St. Petersburg. In this way the Company, as you see, would lose the expense of bringing Goods here &c. & the interest on the money; & which I merely state to shew you my opinion of his proposal. And besides you know that we are not authorised to enter into any arrangement of the kind, & neither have we the Goods, as we only import what we require, & of which you may, if you see the Baron, inform him. And if he wishes a supply of British manufactures, the Company have already made an offer to the Russian Fur Company, & stated the terms on which they would do it. And as to his offers to purchase Grain, I am sorry to say, as you well know, that we have been so afflicted with Fever these three last years, that we cannot undertake to supply him with any, as it is with the greatest difficulty that we have been able to perform the necessary work of the place. And besides we can get (when we have Flour to spare) 16 dollars p. Bl. of 196 lbs. at Woahoo, but at present we have only a little above the supply of one year in advance, which we ought always to have. Our Crop this Year will exceed

3,000 Bus.	Wheat
2,000 „	Barley
1,000 „	Oats & about
1,000 „	Ind. Corn
2, or 3,000 „	Pease

And if no accident happen to us, we will have Grain to supply any demand made on us for the extension of Trade.

At present we send you the *Dryad*, with a Cargo of such articles as we consider necessary for the Trade, & when we receive your requisition we will complete your Outfit.

As Capt. Duncan has conducted himself so much to your satisfaction I have requested him to remain to which he has consented for one year, & goes in charge of the *Dryad*, which will be at your disposal till further orders.

When the *Cadboro'* comes here, if Mr. Finlayson is not arrived from Woahoo, she will go for him, & at the same time take a cargo of timber. On her return, she, as well as the

Vancouver, will be sent to you. But this of course will depend on the directions we may receive from the Governor & Council; & the only cause at present I see that can interfere with the arrangements, is that we may possibly be directed to build another establishment along the coast, & on this account it is to be regretted you did not ascertain if there was an eligible situation to build in the vicinity of Port Essington or Stekine, as the last place I am informed has three Outlets, & as yet we are only acquainted with one. It is important to the Company to find a River communicating with the River North of Portland Canal so as to extend the Trade in that part of the country north of New Caledonia, & another Establishment in the vicinity of Port Essington or Mill Bank Sound would enable them to carry on the business with fewer Vessels. An important object—as a land Establishment can be maintained at much less expense; & the Company is never in want of a Gentleman to take charge of a Land Establishment, but it is extremely difficult to find Naval Officers to manage the coasting Trade.

You will please observe that all the present Cargo of the *Dryad*, excepting such as Stated in the invoice is intended for Out. 1833 & must not be included in your inventory. of ensuing Spring. I remain &c.

&c.

(Sd.) JOHN McLoughlin
C.F.

P.S. In yours of May 27th you say “ the Brig *Lama* will shortly sail for the Columbia ”: & again, “ in hopes of finding Lambert there ” & “ the success of Dominis & Thomson has considerably raised their expectations ”. This differs certainly much from information I received. A friend of mine sent me an extract cut out of a New York Gazette, & it states: “ To day arrived the Brig *Owhyhee*, Capt. Dominis, whom we have seen, & who informed us that he had passed the best part of Summers, 29 & 30, & the intervening Winter in the Columbia. He represents the Country as delightful, but that the Hudson’s Bay Coy. are too well established for citizens of the

United States to expect to make any thing in the way of Fur Trade ”.

I am happy to learn that Dr. Kennedy has made up his mind to remain, & I am only sorry I was not aware of this when the express left us last Spring, as it would have afforded me an opportunity of recommending him to the Governor & Council for an increase of Salary; however I am certain from what you say, & from what I have the pleasure to know myself about him, that the Company will be happy to retain him in the Service, & allow him the same terms they allow medical Gentlemen on the other side.

In regard to Nicholls, Curtis & Calder, whom you have sent in irons for getting drunk & using insolent Language to their Officers, I have to observe that there were three officers on board the *Cadboro'*, & if one of them (as ought to be the case when a boat is sent on shore) had been sent in her, the men would have been prevented purchasing liquor, this riot would not have occurred, & the Company would not have been deprived of the Service of two men.

As the Seamen who may be drafted from the *Eagle* will have no opportunity of providing themselves with Cloathing at this place, you may furnish them with such articles as they may require for Winter use at Servants Depôt Tariff.

Fort Vancouver 6th May 1834¹

From John McLoughlin to
P. S. Ogden Esq.

DEAR SIR

The first point to attend to in our operations this summer is to establish Stikeen and for which purpose you reduce Fort McLoughlin to twenty men, or even sixteen if you consider it safe and Fort Simpson to twelve men and you will erect the new Establishment as far up the River as you possibly can and that it must be at least thirty miles in a direct course from the Ocean.

¹ B. 223/b/10, fos. 7-7d.

The *Vancouver* ought to be employed in examining the Coast between Mount St. Ellice and Stikine to endeavour to discover if there is any River in that space of Country sufficiently large to enable us to form Establishments in the Interior and to where the Copper Mine is.

If you have no accounts from us you will after you have done with the *Dryad* send her here with the returns of the Coast and she will have to touch at Fort Langley to bring the Salmon &c. from that place.

If the Russians are established at Point Hayfield you will be regulated by the Russian Tariff in your dealings with the Indians and if they give no Rum to the Indians you will also forbear to give them any. Indeed I would agree with the Russians to follow as high a rate of trade as they wish. The *Vancouver* will be expected here about the 20th February with the Inventories and accounts.

I am

Dear Sir

Yours truly

(signed) JOHN McLoughlin

COPY

P. S. Ogden's Report¹ of transactions
at Stikine 1834

On the 18th June we came in sight of the Russian Establishment on Point Highfield, within a distance of 15 Miles, when a Russian boarded us, and the officer not understanding

¹ A. 11/50. Referred to as a journal in McLoughlin's letter to the Governor and Committee of March 14, 1835; cf. p. 134. There are two copies of this report in A. 11/50. The only discrepancy of any importance is noted. This transcript was made from the copy from which extracts were taken and sent to H.M. Government. The parts extracted and sent to Lord Palmerston are marked by a line in the margin in this transcript, as in the copy from which the transcript was made. The omissions occur but are not indicated in a copy (also in A. 11/50) headed "Extract of Mr. Chief Trader P. S. Ogdens Report of transactions at Stikine 1834" and endorsed "Copy No. 2 to Lord Palmerston 24 Octr. 1835 & 4 Feby. 1836". The parts sent to H.M. Government, and four of the enclosures mentioned, are printed in *Alaskan Boundary Tribunal, Appendix to the Case of the United States*, pp. 267-70.

the English or French language, we could only comprehend a few words of no import: he handed me a proclamation signed by Baron Wrangell (for its contents see proclamation No. 1) and shortly after took his departure. About two hours after, as we were casting Anchor, another Russian boat with a Russian Officer boarded us, and by signs, and with the assistance of an indian interpreter gave us to understand we must not cast anchor, but immediately depart. To this order I paid no attention. Having invited him down to the Cabin all I could comprehend from him was, that they were determined to use force against us, and requesting me to write a note to their commander (for its contents see No. 2). Having complied he took his departure. He had scarcely been gone an hour, when again a Russian Officer in a Baidarka boarded us. This gentleman also neither understood the French or English language, but was accompanied by a Spanish linguist—with the assistance of surgeon Tolmie we could understand that the purport of his visit was merely to repeat what the others had said.

June 19th. At 6 A.M. the Russian officer who boarded us last night, again attended by his Spanish linguist, paid us a visit, the purport of which was to invite me to their Establishment, informing me that an express had been sent off to Sitka, & that we must not trade with the natives. To this I replied that the Treaty granted us the right of trade, and that some of the Gentlemen would in the course of the day visit their Establishment—he then took his departure. At 10 A.M. Surgeon Tolmie and Captain Duncan by my request proceeded to the Russian Establishment, and 12 o'clock returned, and reported as follows.

They found a Russian Brig mounting 14 Guns¹ with a crew of 84 at anchor in front of their Establishment, to which they were invited, and Captain Sarembo the commander gave them to understand through the assistance of the Russian Spanish linguist that he would make use of the force he had, against us, if we attempted to proceed up the river in our boats; he

¹ Given as 18 guns in another copy, but as 14 in the copy of the extracts sent H.M. Government.

did not deny we had a right to erect an establishment in the interior on English Territory, but we had no right to navigate these Straits, and his orders were to prevent us with the force he had under him, and he would not deviate from them unless he received contrary instructions from Baron Wrangell. Shortly after their return a Russian Boat with the Spanish linguist arrived, and he informed me he was on his way to Sitka, and requested to know if I would write. With this request I complied (See No. 3). He said in eight days he would again be here.

In the afternoon we had a visit from two of the principal Chiefs of the Stikine tribe *Seiks & Anacago*; they assumed a tone I was not in the habit of hearing, and requested to know if we had come here with the intention of erecting an Establishment, and that although the Russians had one they had no objections to our building also in the Sound, but were determined to prevent us if we attempted to proceed up the River, as by so doing we would injure their trade with the interior. To all this I replied that although we intended building we had no intentions of injuring their trade with the Natives, nor did we intend going very far up the River. They again remarked we should not go. They were politely treated, and in the evening took their departure.

June 20th. This morning the Chiefs again came on board, and requested some liquor as a present. Finding them all provided with Russian liquor reduced one third only, I made them a present of a Gallon reduced two thirds. They then remarked "you may build in the Sound in any place that suits you, but not in the River", and thereafter departed. From the threats of the Russian Commander here, the opposition evinced by the Chiefs against our proceeding up the River, and the state of alarm which it appears our men are in, I have now determined to await the return of the Express from Sitka before I make an attempt. It is to be observed, by the treaty of convention between Great Britain and Russia we have every right to navigate these Straits, and in enforcing it I should be perfectly justified, but as the Russians and Natives appear to be combined against us, I am of opinion were we now to make

the attempt, and the Russians to oppose us (independently of the Natives) in our open boats, we should experience not only loss of lives, but, in the event of not succeeding, be lowered in the estimation of the Natives, and this, independently of any other consideration, (opposed as they are to our proceeding up the River at present), we ought to endeavour to avoid by waiting the return of the express from Sitka. Orders from the Russian Governor to the commander here may be forwarded to place no impediments in our way; if so we shall then have only the natives to contend against, and however formidable they are, with the numerous advantages they have over us, I am in hopes, by conciliatory measures & presents, we may secure their permission.

Wind from S.E., we made an attempt to reach Point Highfield, but the current and tide were so strong against us, we were obliged to return from whence we started. Point Highfield is the extent of Ship Navigation, and about 3 miles above the present Russian establishment. I am most desirous to reach it: it would not only tend to facilitate our proceedings in ascending the River by curtailing the distance, but also bring us nearer the indian villages. In the afternoon the Chief paid us a visit: he commenced his conversation by informing us he was willing we should erect an establishment in the Sound, but was most decidedly opposed to our ascending the River, nor had our arguments or promises the slightest effect in making him swerve from his determination.

June 21st. I this day paid a visit to the Russian Establishment, and was politely received by Captain Sarembo the Russian Commander. This Gentleman understands a few words of English, and he gave me directly to understand that if we attempted to proceed up the River in our boats he would use force against us. I represented to him that the Treaty between Great Britain & Russia gave us the right of Navigation: to this he replied "my instructions are to prevent you, and by these, & not by the Treaty shall I be guided". He then remarked "in five days my express will be here from Sitka, and I shall then have the decision of the Governor". We then separated. | On my return to the Brig, the wind

proving favorable, we made another attempt, and succeeded in reaching Point Highfield. Shortly afterwards the natives collected round us with their Chief. The subject of our ascending the Stream was again renewed; and after a long conversation, which continued for nearly two hours, the result was the same as the preceding days. They represented to me we had no other view in going up the River but to unite with our establishments in the interior, and deprive them of their trade, which would reduce them to the state of Slaves; and that although the navigation of the interior was impossible for Craft, still we had horses in the interior at our Establishments, and we would communicate with them. They then expressed a wish we should commence trading the few Furs they have. It appears so far as I can learn from the natives, & Captain Saremba asserts it, that he does not trade Arms or Ammunition; this then is the cause of their anxiety to trade, and it being contrary to the Treaty I am reluctant to commence: indeed I am delicately situated, what with the threats of the Russians on the one hand, and the natives importuning us to trade, and directly opposed to our proceeding into the interior makes it still more so. It is evident however that the Russians either give or trade liquor with the natives—the latter affirm both, and Captain Saremba denied it; and on my informing him that I had seen a quart of Saint Croix Rum, he replied “it must have been obtained from the American Coasters”. Now this cannot be, for no American Coaster has been here this Season, and the only one who traded in Clement-city has left it Six Weeks Since—but so long as I can adhere to the treaty within the line of demarcation, I shall. In every other respect we have undoubtedly a right by the Convention, which is yet in full force.

| June 22nd. | The natives numerous & troublesome in regard to trade.¹ | The Russian Commandant, Capt. Saremba, paid me a visit, and with the assistance of a Swede we have on board, he again gave us directly to understand that if we attempted to proceed up the River, or trade with the natives,

¹ These words were omitted in the extract sent to H.M. Government.

he would use force against us. His instructions were to that effect, and that by the return of the Boat from Sitka he would receive fresh instructions. He left with me by my request a written document in the Russian language relative to the prohibitions he has imposed upon us (See No. 4). My situation now is becoming not only more unpleasant, but I find myself most critically situated, and assuredly at a loss how to act. If I attempted to act conformably to the Treaty, I am aware I should be justified, but I am firmly of opinion, from the determination to oppose us so invariably expressed both¹ by the Russians & ¹ Natives¹ that it would be attended with a loss of lives.

June 29th. This day the two Russian Boats arrived from Sitka, and I received an answer to my letter from Captain Etoliny (See No. 5), and shortly after I had an interview with Captain Sarembo, who informed me he had not received any contrary instructions and was determined to prevent our proceeding up the River. He at the same time remarked he regretted his instructions from Baron Wrangell were to that effect, but whatever the consequences might be, he was determined to enforce them. He then delivered to me document No. 6.

I have now no alternative left but to leave this quarter without making any further attempt, and however galling it is to be obliged to yield, under present circumstances I cannot act otherwise without sacrificing lives, and I am firmly convinced, after all would not succeed.

The Stikine Chiefs observing our making preparations to leave them, were most anxious we should remain and erect an Establishment in the Sound, but to the last hour were decidedly opposed to ascending the River.

(Signed) PETER SKENE OGDEN
H.B.Coy.

¹ These words were omitted in the extract sent to H.M. Government.

Fort McLoughlin 29th Sept. 1836¹

From Duncan Finlayson to
John McLoughlin Esq.

DEAR SIR

According to the plans settled on previous to my departure from Vancouver the *Lama* now proceeds with the Returns of the North West Coast to the Columbia; and I regret much that from the hot opposition we have had to contend with this season and other unavoidable causes we could not despatch her at an earlier date but I trust she will still be in the Columbia sufficiently early to detain the vessel from England no longer than the beginning or middle of October. In the further prosecution of the same plans I intend proceeding with the Steamer through Johnstone's Straits to Nusqually touching at Fort Langley and Whidbey's Island; but as I cannot at present say the probable time I may reach Vancouver as our passage through the Straits may be tedious, I shall give you a brief outline of our operations on the Coast; together with all the information I have been able to collect, so that you may transmit the same to the Governor and Committee, should you conceive it to be worthy of their notice.

The Returns of Fort Simpson notwithstanding the vexatious annoyance given by the American Opposition, and the means the Russians are using to guard their frontier and keep their Indians within it: of which I shall speak hereafter—are nearly double those of last year. The best hunters and traders who are in the habit of selling their furs at this place, and from whom the Returns are chiefly collected may be estimated in the following order, in which they are classed— The Pearl Harbour, and Skeenah Indians called the Chimmesyan tribe, The Nass, The Stikine, Tongass, Sebassa, and the Queen Charlotte Island tribes: and it is now confidently expected that the Kygarnie Indians who have commenced to negotiate a treaty of peace with the natives of this place will, if it be concluded, occasionally trade here; so that the objects which were

¹ B. 223/b/12, fos. 16-24d.

anticipated by the removal of the settlement from Nass hither will thereby be gained, as all the surrounding tribes, some of which inhabit Russian territory, will give us some portion of their Furs. So that the present situation possesses many advantages over the former, such as: being more central for the trade, affording better facilities for the Shipping, better resources in the way of living, and better means of guarding our frontiers from the encroachments of our enterprising opponents.

The resources in the way of living which Fort Simpson affords, are Deer, Halibut, and Salmon, which, however may be considered as precarious while our dependence is placed on the natives for providing them, as they entertain such hostile feelings towards one another that frequent and fatal disturbances arise which will prevent their fishing or hunting more than is barely sufficient for their daily subsistence. I am therefore afraid that this post can never be maintained with safety without having a six month's stock of provisions on hand. But in peaceable times, with the assistance the Garden is likely to afford, on which Mr. Work has spared neither labor nor attention, and which will this season produce from 1 to 200 bushels of Potatoes, the resources already mentioned are quite ample for the maintenance of the Fort. The number of men requisite for the protection of persons and property at this place and the duties to be performed thereat cannot with safety Mr. Work thinks be less than 18 which with the two gentlemen makes a complement of 20, and from the turbulent character of the natives rendered very formidable by the quantity of arms and ammunition, which the opposition has thrown into their hands I would not consider it at present prudent to reduce this number further. I am happy to inform you that Dr. Kennedy has consented to remain and take the chance of whatever his good conduct may throw in his way. He however hopes that his salary will be made equal to that of those of his profession already in the service and I can assure you, the duty he performs is no less arduous than theirs.

The Returns of Fort McLoughlin are better than last year's. The natives of this place have exerted themselves more than

ordinary in hunting and in trading with the interior tribes, and were it not for the frequent visits of the opposition to this place, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, its Returns this season would be very handsome.

The Belahoola tribe inhabiting Deans Canal and Bentincks Arms trade the greatest number of skins at this post. The Wacash tribe of Milbank Sound who procure their's chiefly from the neighbouring tribes, are the next in importance. The Oyalla tribe who procure theirs in like manner as the former may be classed after them, and the Chichysh who are considered the best beaver hunters in the Sound, hunting themselves all the Furs they trade at the Fort are the next. There are many others from whom some furs are obtained but while there is an opposition on the coast they cannot be considered as regular traders at this place. From the uncertainty of procuring provisions from the natives Mr. Manson thinks that this post cannot be maintained without assistance from the Columbia, but that assistance would be comparatively small could 5 or 600 bushels of Potatoes be forwarded either from Nass, Fort Langley or Nusqually. In this case a sufficient quantity of salmon and Deer might be salted which with other articles of provisions procured in plentiful seasons from the natives would be sufficient for the maintenance of this establishment for the year. There can be no doubt but Fort Langley or Nusqually would furnish the quantity of potatoes required, and if Johnstone's Straits be found navigable with the steamer, of which I think there can be little doubt, no difficulty can arise on the score of transport.

In this case I would recommend that everything the coast requires in the shape of provisions, not only for the land but for the naval establishments be supplied and transported by the steamer from Fort Langley and Nusqually, which would relieve Vancouver of no small burden. The soil at this place is so very poor that some labor and pains must be bestowed upon it before it can be rendered productive, the trial made this season shows that it is capable of improvement, Mr. Manson having obtained upwards of 100 bushels of potatoes, and in a few years hence the quantity requisite for the

Establishment might probably be produced here. Mr. Manson thinks that, with an occasional visit from the Steamer, the appearance of which will afford some protection to the place, that 12 men principally Canadians with one or two Europeans will be sufficient for the duties and protection of Fort McLoughlin; making in all including the Gentleman in charge and the trader a total of 14 men.

Although the natives appear now to be well disposed or rather to be kept in good order, yet I would not consider it prudent to reduce this number lower, the opinion they entertain of us and our power is highly creditable to Mr. Manson and the manner in which the Fort has been built and completed; combining every requisite for a trading Establishment deserves much praise.

The Returns of the *Llama* are are [*sic*] rather less than those of last year; owing to the task imposed on Capt. Macneill of keeping in company with, and watching closely the American Opposition, and the manner in which he has performed this duty reflects much credit upon him; having from his intimate knowledge of the harbours, and trading stations on the coast, on many occasions given them the slip and secured all the skins before their appearance at such harbours, and when they happened to be together the *Llama* generally collected the best share of what ever was to be gleaned. Owing to the same cause her Returns cost dearer than those of the Fort as Capt. McNeill had to be as liberal as his opponents. In this service the *Llama* was employed since the appearance of the opposition on the Coast till the 4th September when I sailed in her for Sitka, and on her return she is now dispatched as already mentioned to the Columbia.

The Returns of the Steamer are from various causes smaller than they would under circumstances of a different nature, have been. Her late arrival on the coast, together with the duty of examining many of the interior Canals operated against her collecting many Furs this season so that it was the 18th July before she set out on her first trading voyage, and since that time she has made several cruizes the result of which considering the late season of the year are not discouraging,

and in comparing the general returns of the N.W. Coast this season with those of the former I am happy to say there is a considerable increase in favor of this one.

I shall now give you a brief detail of the steamer's cruizes and operations since we left the Columbia. At noon on the 25th June last we crossed the bar and reached Fort McLoughlin without any accident on the 29th of the same month. Our progress was much impeded by the steamer's being so heavily laden, the paddles sometimes plunging into the waves which shook the vessel much, and in a very heavy sea I would consider a vessel under sail as the safest mode of conveyance. From Fort McLoughlin we proceeded to Fort Simpson through the interior canals say through Canal de Laredo, Nepean Sound, Grenville's Canal, inside Stephen's and Dundass Islands. The navigation in these, for steam, is very favorable, not a rock to be seen in mid channel; and the shores on both sides, with the exception of a few coves, where a good safe anchorage may be found, are composed of bold steep rocks well covered with wood. Wishing to ascertain if the Russian Governor would at that season be found at Sitka I proceeded from Fort Simpson to Tongasse where I was informed a Russian vessel was stationed. From Tongass we returned again to Fort Simpson, and from the latter she was dispatched to Nass on a trading cruize for the purpose of securing all the Furs there, Harris of the *Lagrange* having made an appointment with the Nass Indians about that time. On her return we proceeded again through the interior canals, say Grenville's and another to the East of Princess Royal's Islands to Milbank Sound, thence she was sent to Deans Canal and Bentincks Arms from whence the greatest part of the Furs sold at Milbank are collected and this will shut up that drain, and leave little to glean by vessels sailing along the coast. On her return from this cruize we set out for Nawitie visited the Quaquills where the coals are situated, the Numkys tribe or those, called by Vancouver the Cheslakees, and entered Johnstone's Straits and went up in them to the distance of 16 or 20 miles. Returned again to Milbank and Fort Simpson, where I left her and joined the *Llama* for Sitka. She then proceeded to explore

the eastern side of Queen Charlotte's Sound, there being several villages there which we have not as yet visited, and now she will proceed as already mentioned to Nusqually, touching at Fort Langley and Whidbeys Island. The result of these trials is that she can stow enough of wood to take her from one Fort to another, through the canals where the water is smooth, or from 2 to 230 miles. When we have to provide wood, that the six axemen will cut in two days as much wood as serves her for one, that is for 12 or 14 hours, so that when not supplied with wood from the Forts, we have to stop 2 days to provide fuel for the consumption of one. In such cases our progress is slow and may be estimated one day with another at 90 miles in 3 days or 30 per day.

In the canals we do not find it safe to run at night, owing to the quantity of drift timber which the tide carries along, and which if it came in contact with the Paddles, would break them to pieces, and perhaps cause some serious injury to the vessel and the engine. On the whole she will give the most effectual blow to the opposition which they have ever met with on the coast, and will also lessen in a great measure the traffic carried on amongst the natives themselves. I shall now give you the interview with the Russian Captain at Tongass. On our arrival there we dropped anchor alongside his vessel *The Tallyho* mounting 12 Guns. Shortly after an officer came on board with a Proclamation (copy of which is forwarded herewith) together with a string of Queries requiring to know the object of our visit; the cargo on board; the number of guns she mounted and the number of hands she carried. After having replied to these, he returned to his vessel and in the course of the evening the Captain (Sarembo) came on board the Steamer, but as we were entirely ignorant of his language and he of ours, our ideas I am afraid were very imperfectly conveyed through the medium of a very indifferent interpreter. We understood the Russian Captain to say that the Governor would not be at Sitka till the latter end of August, that his instructions were to prevent us going to Sitka by the Interior canals, that the convention had ceased and therefore we had no right to pass through their territory.

I replied that by the 6th Article of the Convention, which must be considered in force till another be made to rescind it, we were for ever permitted to pass through and navigate these canals without any hindrance whatever. He answered that this liberty referred to the Rivers and Lakes and not to the Bays and Inlets. To this I replied that such a construction appeared absurd as we could not navigate the Rivers and Lakes, unless we had access to them through the canals and led him to think that we would pass if so disposed, in defiance of his warning. He then referred to the 11th article of the Convention, which states that all disputes should be referred to the courts of the high contracting parties. I informed him that we had not the slightest desire of trading on their territory but merely to pass through, he said that the presence of our vessel passing through those straits was injurious to their trade. I further informed him that as there was little probability of finding the Governor now at Sitka, our intention was to return tomorrow morning to Fort Simpson and postpone our visit to the beginning or middle of Septr. Shortly after he took his departure. In the course of two hours he sent his officer back, stating that it was his intention to apply to the Governor of Sitka for leave for us to pass through the Straits if we would wait to the latter end of August, to which I replied as already stated that such was my intention whether he would apply for leave or not, and accordingly the following morning we got under weigh, and returned to Fort Simpson: but before the anchor was well up a boat was again sent to us with the very polite message of "My Captain speak you go away".

The opposition which we had this season to contend with on this coast, consisted of two vessels, the *Peabody* and *Lagrange*; the *Peabody* Capt. Moore sold goods at Sitka to the amount of \$6000, she paid three visits to Kygarnie, two to Milbank Sound, and three to Nawitie (at the two lastmentioned places the *Lama* kept her company) during which time she collected 452 beaver and land otter skins, together with 28 Sea Otter skins principally at Kygarnie, and left this coast on the 15th June last for California to take in a cargo of hides and tallow for some of the Woahoo merchants to America.

The *Lagrange* Captain Snow with a Supercargo of the name of Harris, was at Sitka last Spring and sold goods there to the amount of \$10,000, then he paid 3 visits to Fort Simpson, 3 to Milbank Sound, 3 to Sebassa's, one to Nawitie, during which time he collected according to our information 750 Beaver and Land Otter skins, besides a few Sea Otters, and will leave the coast in ten days or a fortnight hence.

It is not only the number of skins which these vessels collect, that causes serious loss but the extravagant prices paid for them, as they dispose of the remainder of their cargoes under prime cost, rather than be at the trouble and expence of carrying it to China where stowage is an object to them, having to take return cargoes from thence to the States. The Natives also, who are very keen traders, will keep their skins for months in the expectation of the re-appearance of our opponents unless that we become equally liberal and this course we have been obliged to pursue so as to leave as little for them to pick up as possible.

The Russians, feeling greater anxiety than they have hitherto manifested, have two armed vessels guarding their frontiers, the one stationed at Tungass and the other at Kygarnie, each furnished with proclamations addressed to British Subjects and American Citizens, warning them to quit their harbours immediately as the presence of such foreign vessels must injure their trade. The *Peabody* did not pay much respect to this Proclamation as she visited Kygarnie more than once, and the apparent obedience which Harris paid to it, arose more from the apprehension, that a contrary course would cause the Bills obtained at Sitka to be dishonored at St. Petersburg than from any respect he entertained for the Governor of Sitka's denunciation against such as might venture to trespass on Russian territory.

On the morning of the 8th Instant we were off the Port of Sitka, and having fired signal guns, a Russian and 2 Kodiacks came on board with a paper containing the usual questions as to the object of our visit, the cargo on board, the number of guns mounted &c., which were answered and the canoe returned to the shore with this document leaving the Pilot on board to conduct us to the Harbour. Shortly after two large

boats manned by 14 men each came out to tow us in; but the vessel did not come to anchor before 2 P.M. Previous however thereto, a whale boat commanded by a young officer came out to us with a request from the Governor, that I should accompany him to the shore, which I accordingly did and was received by the Governor and his principal officers, with marks of the most polite and friendly attention—after dinner he conveyed me round the Fort and to the different public buildings and rooms within it. The Fort however does not appear to be very regularly built nor in a perfect state of defence tho' from its situation, it possesses every advantage which is required to make it a place of great strength.

On our return to his house I entered on the object of my visit. I assured him that the H.B. Co. had not the slightest desire to encroach upon their rights of Territory or Trade, but to respect them to the fullest extent, while at the same time they expect to have free access to their own, and to navigate the canals and streams that lead thereto, without any hindrance whatever, according to the 6th Article of the Convention of 1825. I represented to him that it was for the mutual interest of both companies to come to an understanding for the purpose of reducing the extravagant prices now paid for Furs along the Boundary Line, that the H.B.Co. were most anxious to discontinue the sale of Arms Ammunition and Rum to the natives, but that these very desirable objects could never be effected so long as the Russ. Amer. Fur Co. held out such encouragement as they no[w] do to American adventurers to dispose of the best part of their cargoes of [at] Sitka; the remainders of which they sell to the Natives under prime cost rather than take it back to the States where it would become dead stock on their hands, and that it was the interest of the Russ. Amer. Fur Co. to co-operate with us in excluding all these interlopers, and with this view the H.B.Co. were desirous of supplying them with such goods as they generally purchased from the Americans at a moderate cost.

He fully agreed with me that an understanding of this nature between the two companies would be beneficial to both, that as far as he was concerned he was very willing to to

[sic] take goods from us at the same cost as the Americans, but that at present he stood in need of none except Leaf Tobacco, having a two years stock of every other article on hand. That he could not shut the port of Sitka against American Adventurers without the sanction of the Directors of the Russ. Amer. Fur Co. as he did not consider it prudent to depend solely for all his supplies on one source without having a sufficient guarantee that that source could always be relied on, and that Baron Wrangell in consequence of a similar proposal made by Mr. Ogden to furnish him with goods had conveyed the same to the Directors and that they addressed the Governor and Committee in London on the same subject, to which no answer was returned and that he therefore naturally concluded the Hudson's Bay Co. did not feel disposed to prosecute the business further.

According to a previous invitation the Governor accompanied by 4 of his officers came on board the *Llama*, I then took that opportunity of showing him a sample of our goods, which he examined very minutely, enquiring the price of each article, and to which he gave a decided preference over those of the Americans adding that he would feel obliged by our sending him in the course of the winter samples of such other goods as we had in the Columbia which he had not now an opportunity of examining, with the price at which we could afford to deliver them at Fort Simpson attached to each, and that in the meantime he would communicate my proposal to the Russian American Fur Co. (Copy of which he two days after handed me to be forwarded via London) and if they approved of them he requested them to communicate their sentiments on these points to the Governor and Committee in London; and if this business is well managed we may ultimately have the Sitka Market in our own hands. I promised that the samples he wanted would be sent him in the course of the winter. He informed me that an annual supply of \$30,000 including 8000 bushels of Wheat, would in addition to that brought by their own Store Ship, which sails from Cronstadt every second year, be sufficient for the consumption of all their settlements. That from these they collect annually

about 15,000 Beaver and Land Otter Skins, from 7 to 800 Sea Otters and 30,000 Fur Seal Skins, exclusive of small Furs: which is generally estimated in the Russian market at from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Rubles or from £.75 to 93,750 sterling.

The supply of Wheat from California being sometimes precarious, he appeared very desirous of having it from the Columbia. Though he expects nearly a two year's stock of Wheat from California in a few days, he would purchase from 4 to 5000 bushels from us next Spring deliverable at Fort Simpson at from $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars the Fanega of 140 lbs. and thereafter 8000 Bushels or about 4000 Fanegas annually. On this subject I likewise promised that I would communicate with him in the course of the winter. In the event of the above-mentioned supply from California failing, he asked permission to send one of their vessels to the Columbia in the winter, and hoped that we might be able to furnish the quantity of wheat which might be required, to which I expressed no objection, but could not say, what quantity we could spare, as that depended much on this years crop, of which I was entirely ignorant.

On the subject of exchanging Sea Otter for Beaver, he would only give from 10 to 11 lb. of the latter for a prime skin of the former.

Vessels they would not purchase, having a greater number at present afloat (say 12) than they require, they however so as not to be behind hand with us, expect a steamboat from the States of about 50 horse power.

He expressed his displeasure at the treatment we met with at Tongass, and thanked me for our forbearance on that occasion in not proceeding through the Straits to Sitka, which he was aware we could have done in defiance of Capt. Sarembo's prohibition, and when I told him of the uncalled for message sent to us in the morning as we were getting under weigh; of My Captain speak you go away, and that if Captain Home or myself had been aware of it before our departure from the Harbour, we would have assuredly spent another day in Sarembo's company. He replied that were he placed in a similar situation he would do so likewise, but in future we might visit Sitka by steam or otherwise, as best suited our convenience.

There were three American vessels at Sitka on our arrival there. The *Europa* Mr. French from Woahoo, The *Rasselas* Thomson from Kamschatska, and *Lagrange* Harris our opponent on the N.W. Coast. The *Diana* belonging to Mr. French came also in from China, before we left that Port. All these vessels had goods for sale but Mr. French was the only person who sold any quantity, having contracted with Baron Wrangell to supply them with goods for 3 years, one of which is yet unexpired. Thomson sold the best part of his cargo at Kamschatska, and has entered into a contract there for flour, salt and other goods. Harris sold nothing this time, but last Spring he disposed of goods there to the amount of \$10,000 as already mentioned.

Though we have sold nothing there, yet our visit may be attended with some beneficial results. It will show the American Adventurers that we have entered the Sitka market, and being in its neighbourhood, can keep it well stocked, which may have some weight in deterring them from visiting it hereafter; the advantages which we possess over them and which I did not fail to point out to them, of supplying Sitka not only with foreign but with country produce, and in fact with all its wants is another reason which will weigh deeply in the scale, and if we can afford to dispose of our Goods at a moderate percentage, I have no doubt, but that all the supplies to that market will ultimately fall into our hands.

Mr. French made a proposal to me of purchasing from you the following articles at the annexed prices, should you feel disposed to consign them to him this fall

200 Barrels Flour	@	\$10	pr. barrel
200 „ Salmon	@ „	6	„ do.
5000 lbs. Butter	@ „	$\frac{1}{4}$	„ lb.
Lumber	@ „	40	„ M. feet

He purchased a considerable quantity of Lumber at Sitka in part payment of his Sales there. He paid \$40 pr. M. feet for boards of one Inch and for plank of 3 and 4 Inches \$35 pr. M. feet.

The Coal Mine is situated on the N.E. end of Vancouver's Island about Lat. 50 30 N. and Long. 126 35 W. It was

examined so far as our time and means would permit very minutely and Mr. Arthur, the first Engineer pronounces them to be of a very good quality. The mine appears to stretch along the beach for some distance and where the sea washed against the bank we could perceive that there was a considerable deposit of Sandstone over it, and alternating with it. He followed a creek which washed the Sandstone away to the distance of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, and found its bed to be pure coal—along shore, they are in strata, the depth of which we could not ascertain, having no machine for boring, we however dug to the depth of two feet through the first stratum, from which I took a specimen both of the coals and sandstone for the purpose of being forwarded to England.

The Indians informed us that at a considerable distance behind this place, there is a mountain of pure coal. But I am sorry to observe that I do not think the mine can be worked without building an Establishment at it, there being a very populous village of Quaquill Indians, consisting of from 50 to 60 houses within $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles of it, and purchasing the mine from them would be of little use, as the people left to work it, would unless protected by a large force, would be exposed to the attacks of other tribes who frequent this spot. I would therefore consider the mine, without the protection of a Fort useless to us.

They informed us that they would not permit us to work the coals as they were valuable to them, but that they would labour in the mine themselves and sell to us the produce of their exertions, but we know from the indolent habits of Indians, even if the materials for working it, were in their hands that in six months they would not furnish a sufficient quantity for the consumption of a day.

Referring you for further information relative to the Company's affairs in this quarter to the documents and papers herewith transmitted

I am Dear Sir

Your obed. Servant

Signed DN. FINLAYSON

(IV) THE BRIG LAMA

British Consulate Woahoo

10th Sept. 1832¹

From Duncan Finlayson to
Wm. Smith Esq.,

SIR,

The departure hence for England of the South Sea Whaler, the *Sarah & Elizabeth* of London, affords me an opportunity of acquainting you, for the information of the Govr. & Committee, that the *Eagle* sailed for Frazer's River, with the Fort Langley outfit, on the 3rd of last month. Captain Grave had instructions from me to exchange cargoes with either of our two vessels he might chance to fall in with on the coast; thereafter, direct his course to the Columbia, so as to sail for England, without further delay.

About the close of last month, I purchased the Brig *Lama* of Boston, burthen p. Register 145 Tons, for the Sum of Five Thousand Dollars (Exchange at 5/- p. dollar) or twelve hundred & fifty pounds sterling. Seven hundred & fifty of which have been paid from the proceeds of the timber & Salmon sent from the Columbia to this market, & for the remaining Five hundred pounds, I took the liberty of drawing on their Honors at 30 days sight, which I trust will be duly honored. Copy of my letter of advice, to your address, accompanying the Bills, is enclosed under cover herewith.

Had all the *Ganymede's* cargo, as well as the *Eagle's*, been sold, I should have had to remit money to, instead of drawing Bills on their Honors, but when these are converted into Cash, Mr. Charlton will, if our demands from this are not heavy, be enabled to remit double the amount I have now drawn.

The *Lama* was built six Years since, & for three Years of these she has cruised on the N.W. Coast. She is coppered & copper fastened, perfectly sound in her plank & timber, sails well, & is considered so very cheap, that I have since been

offered Seven thousand dollars for her. From the report (which Mr. Charlton will forward for their Honors' perusal) of the Gentlemen who surveyed her, & who were considered the most competent judges in such matters at this place, it will be perceived, that the state of her Hull, Rigging Sails, &c., is such as to render her capable of undertaking, in her present state, any voyage; & I beg leave to add that should the Company be hereafter in want of vessels for the N.W. Coast, they will purchase them here much cheaper than in England, or they can be built at Vancouver.

We have seen, since we entered the field with the Americans on the N.W. Coast, the advantage their experience gave them over us, & from the inefficient state of our naval Force, during the last Summer, to oppose Five Vessels, well officered, manned & equipped in every respect for that trade, it became the more necessary to oppose them with their own Weapons. I have therefore taken upon me, with the recommendation of Mr. Chief Factor McLoughlin, to continue Capt. McNeil in the command of the *Lama*, for two years, at a Salary of £200 Stg. p. an. This Sum may appear high to one of our Captains on the West side the Mountains; it is, however, £70 less than that allowed him by his last owners.

The experience he has acquired of the Natives, & his intimate acquaintance with the different Harbors, Bays & Inlets on the Coast, from cruising thereon for the space of fifteen Years—coupled with his activity talents & abilities as a Navigator & Trader,—render him eminently qualified to give affairs in that quarter a favorable turn. I have also engaged two Chief, & one second Officer at our usual scale of Wages; all of whom have been on the Coast. I trust their Honors will approve of the steps I have taken in this business, as nothing but the urgency of the case would have tempted me to act without their authority & sanction. From what I have already mentioned respecting the equipment of the American Coasters, & from possessing unknown to us, it will readily be seen that our only plan is to oppose them by a steady, well regulated opposition, which in my opinion will alone ultimately gain us the field. I am credibly informed that 10,000

Beaver Skins are collected annually on the coast. This is worth a Struggle; & from the plans we shall now be able to adopt & pursue, we have every reason to expect, henceforth, a plentiful harvest.

These were my reasons for entering into such measures. If I have erred in so doing, it arose from an anxious wish to watch over & promote, to the best of my judgment & abilities, the interest of the Company; & may therefore claim, at least, to be favorably viewed.

By Captn. McNeil, who entered the Columbia River in the *Lama*, on his way hither from the N.W. Coast, I had despatches from Mr. C. F. McLoughlin dated 17th July last. The Brigades for the interior took their departure on the fourth of that month. There were at that time only four cases of Fever at Fort Vancouver, but the Natives seemed to be again scourged therewith.

The American Settlers had not reached the Willamette up to that date.

The *Lama* is now ready for the Sea, & after taking leave of the inhabitants of this place, who treated us ever since we came amongst them, with every attention, kindness & hospitality, will sail tomorrow for the Columbia; & hope to be there before the departure of the *Eagle* for England. Mr. David Douglas the Botanist arrived here from California 3 days since. He takes a passage with us to the Columbia. I am, Sir, Your obt. St.

(Sd.) DUNCAN FINLAYSON

To Wm. Smith Esqre.
Secy. &c. &c.

N.B. The foregoing letter will reach England in Feby. next. The *Sarah* & *Elizabeth* sailed from Wahoo on 11th Sept. 1832.

[*Enclosure*]

Honolulu 8th Sept. 1832¹

SIR,

I beg leave to advise for the information of the Govr. & Committee, that I have this day drawn on them a Bill in triplicate at 30 days sight, in favor of Mr. Seth Barker, or order, for the Sum of Five Hundred pounds Sterling, which I beg may be duly honored, & charged in account with the Columbia Dept. Out. 1832, being the Balance now remaining unpaid of the Brig *Lama* purchased by & delivered to me at this place for the Service of the Honble. Coy. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obt. hble. Servt.
(Sd.) DUNCAN FINLAYSON p. H.B. Co.

To
Wm. Smith Esqre.
Secy. &c. &c.

The above was given with the following Bill in triplicate.

£500

Honolulu

HONBLE. SIRS

Thirty days after Sight of this my first of Exchange, (second & third, of same tenor & date, unpaid) please pay to Mr. Seth Barker, or order, the Sum of Five hundred pounds Sterling, for value received, & charge the same in account with the Columbia Department, as p. Advice.

I have the honor to be, Honble. Sirs,
Yr. dutiful Servt. (Sd.) DUNCAN FINLAYSON
C.Fr. p. H.B.Co.

To the Govr. & Committee
H.H.B.Coy.

*(V) NATHANIEL WYETH*Fort Vancouver 5th May 1836¹

From Nathaniel Wyeth to
John McLoughlin Esqr.

SIR

The following proposal is made with a view of establishing a permanent fur business on the Upper Waters of Snake River and countries to the Eastward and Southward, not much, if any frequented by your parties, it is not made with a view of eventually limiting the Supplies to the amount named, but to increase the same to any extent that may be found profitable. I wish to obtain some assurance from the Honble. Company of Supplies, in order to be able on my return to Boston to make my present partners an offer for the property we have in this Country, if you approve of the plan, & could yourself furnish any positive assurance of the Supplies before I arrive in Boston, it would assist me in my transactions there, or if you would place the subject before the Honble. Company in England so that I could receive their answer during the coming winter, it would effect the object. The proposal which I wish to make is as follows.

1st The Honble. Company to furnish Supplies at 75 p. Cent advance on prime Cost and Charges to the Amount of £700 deliverable at Vancouver.

2d The Hble. Co. to furnish the produce & manufactures of the Country at the Tariff of the Country, Horses not over Seventy five the first year, & afterwards according to the exigency of the business at their Cost at Walla Walla, and men not exceeding fifteen the first year, and thereafter according to the wants of the Trade, at the Cost of their wages commencing from the time said men shall leave the place where they are hired, the Honble. Co. to send the said men home free of charge on the termination of their contracts with N. Wyeth.

¹ B. 223/b/12, fos. 33-4. The comments are McLoughlin's.

3d The Honble Co. to furnish one or more clerks if required charging their Wages.

4th N. Wyeth to deliver over at Vancouver all the furs and peltries that he may obtain, and receive therefore a credit of £1 p. merchantable Beaver of 1 lb. Weight, and all smaller to be considered as half Beaver, and for all other furs and peltries usually received by the Co. at prices to be hereafter determined.

5th N. Wyeth to agree to abandon Fort Hall if required and in no case to trade or barter with any Indians or freemen below the scite of said Fort on the waters of Snake River, and also agree to establish no posts on the Columbia or any of its waters without the consent of the Honble. Company, but to pursue his trade on the waters of the Salt Lake, the Colorado, del Norte, and the Rivers of the Atlantic.

I am respectfully

Your obedt. Sert.

NATHL. WYETH

Article 1st To Stand.

2d It should be stipulated in this article the number of men likely to be required by Mr. Wyeth, and that their Wages & Expenses bringing them from Canada or elsewhere, as the case may be, to the Columbia, and up to the date they are made over to the said N. Wyeth, be charged to him, and that the Company at the expiration of their Contracts or agreement will send them to their Country or home free of charge to Mr. Wyeth.

3d There can be no objection to this article.

4th The furs and peltries to be delivered at Fort Vancouver, and the price of the latter to be settled upon hereafter or at 1/3d less than the District prices, be it understood that the made Beaver be prime Skins and that each large Beaver is to weigh not less than one pound, and all under that weight to be considered as half Beaver and paid as such to be not less than 8 ounces weight.

5th Mr. Wyeth to abandon Fort Hall and to put it in possession of the Hudsons Bay Company, Mr. Wyeth to have

no dealings whatever in the way of Barter or trade with any Indians or freemen to the North East or North West of that Fort, but that all his operations be confined to Upper Waters of the Snake River, and to the Countries to the South and South east of a line of demarcation which should be distinctly drawn out.

Bears of all colors	La. prime	1 3/2	Bears Cub prime	6/7
Beaver Coating	lb.	8/2	Woolvereens	3/4
Martens prime		5/2	Foxes red	3/-
Minks		1/11	„ Cross	8/3
Muskrats		4d.	Raccoons	none
Otters prime		10/11		

APPENDIX B

BIOGRAPHICAL

Duncan, Alexander

Alexander Duncan, a native of Carron, near Falkirk, Scotland, served as a seaman in the *William and Ann* on her voyage between London and Columbia River in 1824-26. From February 26 to September 13, 1825, he acted as boatswain. During this voyage he acquired a knowledge of the Chinook language, and on his return to England in 1826 he improved himself "in navigation and other branches of study". By these endeavours he secured a re-engagement for three years with the Company as mate and clerk on the schooner *Cadboro* at £52 10s. od. per annum. He sailed for the Columbia in the *William and Ann* in the autumn of 1826, but on his arrival he was informed that Lieut. Æmilius Simpson, who was to have the command of the *Cadboro*, preferred Thomas Sinclair as first mate, as he was more familiar with the routine of the business. Duncan was offered the position of second mate on the *Cadboro* or alternative employment (cf. pp. 42-3) but he declined and returned to England. He sailed in the *William and Ann* and arrived in London in February, 1828. In the summer of that year, and again in 1829, he served as second mate in the *Prince of Wales* during voyages to and from Moose Factory, and in 1830 he sailed as first officer of the brig *Dryad* on her voyage to Columbia River. He remained on the Pacific Coast, and at least as early as 1832 he was in command of the *Dryad*. He was master of the schooner *Vancouver* when she was driven ashore and wrecked on Point Rose, Queen Charlotte Islands, on March 3, 1834, but he was exonerated from all blame, and in the following year was appointed master of the *Cadboro*. He arrived in England as a passenger in the *Dryad* in April, 1836, and in January, 1837, he was engaged for five years for country service. He sailed for Columbia River in command of the chartered ship *Sumatra*, but owing to a misunderstanding of the Governor and Committee's instructions he was sent back to England as master of the same ship. In November, 1838, he left London for Columbia River in command of the newly-built barque *Vancouver*, and after his arrival in May, 1839, he was employed in making voyages in her to the Hawaiian Islands and on the North West Coast. In November, 1840, he left for England, where he arrived in June, 1841. He again sailed for Columbia River as master of the barque *Vancouver* in September, 1841, and after his arrival he remained in command of her on the North West Coast until he was appointed master of the *Columbia* on her voyage to England in 1844-45. He returned to Columbia River in command of the same ship in the autumn of 1845, and spent the remainder of his service as her master on the North West Coast and on her return voyage to England in 1848, when he retired.

Eales, William

William Eales was appointed first officer of the brig *Isabella* in October, 1829, and he kept the log (C. 1/355) during the voyage which ended with the loss of the vessel in Columbia River in May, 1830 (see pp. 83-5). As he was unwilling to accept the command of the *Cadboro* (see pp. 140-1), he returned to England as first officer of the *Ganymede* in 1834, and he retained this position during the summer of that year when, on account of the ships being detained in Hudson Bay during the winter of 1833-34, she was consigned to Moose Factory and Ungava Bay. Eales was appointed to the command of the *Ganymede* in December, 1834, on her voyage to Columbia River, and he was also master of her on the return voyage of 1836-37. Owing to a derangement of plans by the *Eagle* wintering in Hudson Bay in 1836-37, the Governor and Committee were obliged to charter the *Aurora*, Captain W. Cooper, to take an outfit to Ungava Bay, and Eales sailed as supercargo. The outfit was delivered in September, 1837, and in the following month Eales returned to England from St. Johns, Newfoundland, as a passenger on the *Avalon*. He then retired from the Company's service and in May, 1838, he was living in Mile End and was thinking of applying for employment with the Clarence Railway Company.

Gairdner, Meredith

Meredith Gairdner, the only son of Dr. Ebenezer and Harriet Gairdner, of Edinburgh, studied medicine at Glasgow University. Owing to the prevalence of fever at Fort Vancouver in 1832, the Governor and Committee engaged Gairdner and W. F. Tolmie to give Dr. McLoughlin medical assistance in the district. Gairdner was engaged on a contract for five years at £100 per annum for his services as doctor, plus an additional salary for his duties as a clerk. He was to be eligible for promotion in the service. He sailed from London in the *Ganymede* in September, 1832, and arrived in Columbia River in May, 1833. On March 31, 1835, he was suddenly taken ill and he later diagnosed his complaint as "pulmonary consumption". A change of air at Walla Walla during the summer of 1835 not proving beneficial, he left for the Hawaiian Islands in the autumn of 1835 to try to regain his health, but he died there on March 26, 1837.

Grave, Lieut. John Costellow

Lieutenant John Costellow Grave, R.N., a native of the Isle of Man, was introduced to the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company on August 29, 1827, and appointed to the command of their brig *Eagle* at Ten Guineas per month. He made three voyages between London and Columbia River from 1827-33, and in June, 1834, he was transferred to the Hudson Bay route at a salary of Fifteen Guineas per month with an allowance of £40 for cabin stores and an annual gratuity of £50 if the ship completed the voyage safely to and from Hudson Bay within the year. He sailed to York Factory as

supercargo of the chartered ship *Prince George* in the summer of 1834 and returned in command of the Company's ship *Prince Rupert*, which had been detained in Hudson Bay during the winter of 1833-34 and whose Captain, Benjamin Bell, was ill. On April 8, 1835, Grave was officially appointed to the command of the *Prince Rupert*, and he served on the Hudson Bay route until the completion of the 1838 voyage. In 1839 he objected to the appointment of Henry Edward Boulton as chief mate of the *Prince Rupert* on the grounds that he was not an efficient officer. As the Committee declined to revoke Boulton's appointment Grave tendered his resignation, which was accepted on May 8, 1839.

Hanwell, Henry (Junior)

Henry Hanwell, junior, was the son of Captain Henry Hanwell, who spent many years in the Company's service on the Hudson Bay route. On April 10, 1816, Henry Hanwell, junior, was appointed chief mate, to serve under his father in the Company's ship *Prince of Wales*. She was unable to return from Moose Factory on account of ice conditions and was obliged to spend the winter of 1816-17 at Charlton Island, returning to England in the autumn of 1817. On April 1, 1818, Hanwell was appointed chief mate of the Company's ship *Eddystone*, and he served in this vessel on voyages to and from Hudson Bay until the end of the 1823 voyage. His first command was in 1824 to the newly-purchased brig *William and Ann* on her voyage to Columbia River. He undertook a second voyage from London to the Pacific Coast in 1826, and on his return in 1828, owing to the retirement of Captain John Davison, Hanwell's services were transferred to the Hudson Bay route, and he took over the command of the *Prince of Wales*. On account of ice conditions the ship was unable to return from the 1833 voyage to Moose Factory and Hanwell died some time before the homeward journey began in 1834. He was survived by his wife, Elizabeth Anne Hanwell, and at least three children. His widow was granted an annuity of £17 10s. for ten years. Particulars of his will are in A. 44/2.

Heath, William

William Heath was described in his original contract of service, dated September 15, 1832, as of Marlow, Bucks. He joined the Hudson's Bay Company as second mate of the barque *Ganymede*, and on his arrival in Columbia River in May, 1833, he was transferred to the coastal service and appointed first mate of the schooner *Vancouver*. He served in her and in the schooner *Cadboro* until September, 1835, and from that time until the following April he acted in the same capacity in the *Ganymede*. He was then transferred to the barque *Columbia* and arrived in England as her first mate in March, 1837. In the following October he wrote to the Governor and Committee from Millend Farm, West Wycombe, Bucks, offering his services as first mate of the *Columbia* on her voyage to the North West Coast, and a new contract was entered into

on November 18, 1837. He returned to England in the *Columbia* in 1839 and in September of that year signed another contract in which he agreed to act as first mate in the Columbia naval service. He sailed to the Pacific Coast in the *Columbia* and was afterwards appointed successively to the *Cadboro*, and the steamer *Beaver*. He came to England in 1842-43 as first mate of the barque *Cowlitz*, and returned in her to the Columbia in 1843-44. In October, 1844, he was appointed master and brought her to England in 1845-46, when he retired. His brother, Joseph Thomas Heath, died at Steilacoom, near Nisqually, in 1849, having settled on a farm there in 1844, under agreement with the Puget's Sound Agricultural Society Limited.

Kennedy, John Frederick

John Frederick Kennedy was born on January 29, 1805, and was the eldest son of Chief Factor Alexander Kennedy (see *H.B.S.*, II, 224-5). He was educated in Scotland and obtained his medical degree in Edinburgh. In September, 1829, he was engaged for three years as a surgeon at £60 per annum to serve either afloat or ashore in the Columbia district. He left England for the North West Coast as surgeon in the *Isabella*, which was lost in May, 1830 (cf. pp. 83-5). For the season 1830-31 he was appointed clerk and surgeon at Fort Vancouver, and in 1831-32 he was transferred to Nass (Fort Simpson), and was reported by P. S. Ogden as being careful and attentive, and qualified to act as trader, storekeeper or accountant, in addition to his medical duties. Kennedy's service was spent mostly at and in charge of Fort Simpson, but he also managed other posts on the North West Coast. He was appointed a Chief Trader in 1847, and was allowed furlough during the outfit 1852-53. During the following three seasons his services were disposable in the Western department. He was placed on the retired list as from June 1, 1856, and he retired to Victoria, Vancouver Island. He died intestate on April 3, 1859. By his union with an Indian woman of the Fort Simpson district he had several children.

Langtry, Lieut. Joseph Millar

On March 27, 1833, the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company resolved (A. 1/58, fo. 41-41d.) "that Lt. Joseph Millar Langtry of the R.N. be appointed Commander of the *Nereide* and to the command in Chief of all the Company's ships and vessels attached to the Columbia District and as such Commander to Rank with Chief Traders in the Service: to be guided in the management of the command by the instructions of the Chief Factor in charge of that District, as well as by those of the Governor in Chief. It having been considered advisable that the Commander of the Company's vessels should hold a Chief Trader's Commission the Governor and Committee resolve to recommend to the Governor and Council that Lt. Langtry be placed in nomination for the first vacancy that may occur, but that he be not entitled to any retired allowance until he has been ten years in the Company's service." In addition it was resolved "that until Lt. Langtry shall receive a Commission as Chief Trader

that his salary shall be made equal to the Profits of a Chief Trader commencing with Outfit 1833 say 1st June, 1833." Langtry arrived in Columbia River in November, 1834, but returned to England in the following year as, owing to his instructions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, he was unable to command any vessel other than the *Nereide*, which McLoughlin did not then require for the coasting trade. Cf. p. 121 and notes 1 and 2. After his return the Governor and Committee wrote to McLoughlin on August 28, 1835 (A. 6/23, fo. 140-140d.) "Capt. Langtry was introduced to us with the strongest recommendations, but his objecting to take the command of any other Vessel than the *Nereide*: his not returning to Columbia River, immediately after landing his Cargo at Valparaiso . . . his waiting so long in Port for so inefficient a freight, and the article Copper Ore so objectionable, owing to the place at which it was to be delivered, combined with his general dilatory conduct, has certainly disappointed our expectations, so much that on his arrival his further services were dispensed with: He has since obtained a reappointment in His Majestys Navy."

McKay, Thomas

Thomas McKay was the son of Dr. John McLoughlin's wife, Marguerite Wadin, by a previous union with Alexander McKay, a former Northwester and a partner of John Jacob Astor in the Pacific Fur Company enterprise. Thomas was born in the Indian country about 1796, and was baptised in the Scotch Presbyterian Church at Williamstown, Glengarry, on November 9, 1804. He sailed with his father in the *Tonquin* from New York in September, 1810, and arrived in Columbia River in the following March. In the summer of 1811 Alexander lost his life in the *Tonquin* massacre. The North West Company took over Astoria from the Pacific Fur Company in October, 1813, and Thomas entered the service of the new owners as a clerk on March 29, 1814. (Cf. Elliott Coues (ed.), *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest* (New York, 1897), II, 861 and *passim*). Other references to him were made by Gabriel Franchère, Ross Cox, and Alexander Ross in their works, and in a letter to John George McTavish dated March 2, 1821, Finan McDonald said "Mr. Thomis McKay is doing well with his Band in the Welihamet". After the coalition of 1821 his services were retained by the Hudson's Bay Company and he continued to be stationed in the Columbia district. Governor Simpson met McKay in October, 1824, at Jasper House where he had delivered letters from the Columbia. He accompanied Simpson on the remainder of the journey to Fort George, and in November and December, 1824, McKay was attached to Chief Trader James McMillan's expedition to the mouth of Fraser River. McKay aspired to the leadership of the 1825 Umpqua expedition, but Simpson, in writing to McLoughlin on April 10, 1825, said of him "This young man is an excellent second where presence of mind courage and activity are required, but he is not fit to command altho' over ambitious of being a Leader", and added that he had already twice failed on this service. Finan

McDonald was made leader, and McKay accompanied him. They left Fort Vancouver on August 20, and in December they joined Peter Skene Ogden's party at Deschutes River and hunted in the Snake Country. (Cf. Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 89.) McKay spent the winter of 1826-27 in the Klamath Country with Ogden, and they were together again in 1827-28 in the Snake Country. In September, 1828, he left Fort Vancouver with Alexander Roderick McLeod on a journey to the Umpqua for the purpose of recovering property belonging to Jedediah Smith which had been stolen during the previous summer when his men were massacred, and McKay afterwards accompanied McLeod on an expedition to the Bonaventura (Sacramento) Valley. For an outline of the route followed see *H.B.S.*, III, 449. They returned to Fort Vancouver in February, 1830, and in the following autumn they explored the headwaters of the Willamette River. In Governor Simpson's Character Book of 1832 (A. 34/2, fo. 42-42d.) McKay was reported as being "A half breed of the Saukteaux Tribe . . . Lame in consequence of a Dislocation of the Knee notwithstanding which he is very active, one of the best Shots in the Country and very cool and resolute among Indians, has always been employed on the most desperate Service in the Columbia and the more desperate it is the better he likes it. He is known to every Indian in that Department and his name alone is a host of Strength carrying terror with it as he has sent many of them to their 'long home': quite a 'blood hound' who must be kept under restraint—possesses little judgement and a confirmed Liar, but a necessary evil at such a place as Vancouver; has not a particle of feeling or humanity in his composition. Is at the height of his ambition." On March 20, 1833, McLoughlin informed Simpson (D. 5/4) that "Mr. McKay retires from the service and settles as a farmer on the Wallamette", and on this matter being brought to the attention of the Governor and Committee they remarked in a letter to McLoughlin dated February 1, 1834 (A. 6/23, fo. 63d.), "We observe, that Mr. Birnie and Mr. McKay have been permitted to settle as Farmers in the Willamitte; we have not as yet had an opportunity of looking or inquiring into the objects those Gentlemen have in view in settling there, and desire that no Officer or Servant be permitted to remain in the Country after the expiration of his engagement, without our sanction or that of Governor Simpson." It is not clear exactly when McKay took up his quarters in the Willamette, but the Council of the Northern department appointed him a clerk disposable in the Columbia district for the outfit 1833-34, and John Work gave a description in his journal (copy in Public Archives of Canada) under date July 8, 1834, of McKay's "place" which was "in a beautiful situation" and by this time there was "a considerable quantity of ground enclosed & under crop". The situation was at French Prairie. In July, 1834, the Council of the Northern department appointed McKay a clerk at Fort Vancouver for the outfit 1834-35, but McLoughlin had, by that time, outfitted him to trade with the American trappers at their annual rendezvous. Details of the conditions under which McKay was equipped are vague, but apparently he was answerable to the Company for the cost of the

outfit, prohibited from trading with the Lower Snake Indians and obliged to deliver to the Company all furs collected by trade or otherwise. For McLoughlin's account of this expedition see pp. 141-2, 167-9. It appears that some time during this expedition McKay built the Snake Fort—later known as Fort Boise—and this was permitted by McLoughlin “because Fort Hall [Wyeth's post] draws the Trade away from Nez Percés”. McKay's name was not included amongst the appointments made by the Northern Council in either 1835 or 1836. He returned to the Snake Country in the autumn of 1835 on the same terms as before, and this expedition cleared over £411, cf. p. 153, n. 4. In May, 1836, another outfit was sent to the Snake Fort for McKay “on his account as the last” (cf. p. 169, n. 1), but on June 25, 1836, Simpson wrote to McLoughlin (D. 4/22, fos. 31d.-32), “The setting Mr. McKay up on his account in opposition to the Americans, we consider to have been a judicious measure, under the then existing circumstances as you had not the means of Outfitting a party on account of the Company, but now that the necessary means to that end are at your disposal we wish that the entire management and controul of any party in whom we have an interest should rest in our own hands, and with that view we have to beg that no party be outfitted from the Company's Stores unless commanded by one of our own Officers equipped on the Company's account, and wholly under our direction. You will therefore be pleased to fit out any party or parties that may be necessary to watch the opposition, on the Company's account and to engage Mr. Thomas McKay if he be so disposed for that or any other service you may consider him qualified for, at a Salary of £100 p. anm. and if you find that his recent services entitle him to a gratuity not exceeding £100 you will be pleased to afford it to him.” On the expedition of 1836-37 McKay cleared £997 (cf. p. 209). He chose to remain in the service as a clerk and he spent the winter of 1837-38 in charge of Fort Hall. He took the Snake Country outfit in from Fort Vancouver in the spring of 1838 and in the autumn went with six men to the Umpqua Fort to put the business in order and lend support to the man in charge as the Indians were in a state of unrest (cf. Appendix A, p. 255). In the winter of 1838-39 he was a clerk at Fort Hall and some time after this he retired from the Company's service. He took part in the Cayuse War which followed the Whitman massacre of 1847, and during the Californian gold rush he was the leader of the wagon train from Oregon organised by Peter Burnett. McKay returned from California before November 18, 1849, and died some time before April 19, 1850. His grave is on a farm near the Columbia Slough at Scappoose. By his union with the eldest daughter of the Chinook Chief, Concomely, he had three sons. On December 31, 1838, he was married at Fort Vancouver to Isabelle, daughter of Nicholas Montour, and in the marriage record he was described as a Protestant and his wife as a Roman Catholic. Three daughters and two sons, in addition to those mentioned above, were beneficiaries under his will, dated February 13, 1844. Cf. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XL, A. L. Bird, “Thomas McKay”, pp. 1-14, and “The Will of Thomas McKay”, pp. 15-18.

McLoughlin, Joseph

Joseph McLoughlin was a son of Dr. John McLoughlin by a connection made previous to his union with Marguerite Wadin McKay. Joseph apparently received little or no education and during outfit 1827-28 he was listed as an apprentice of the Hudson's Bay Company attached to the coasting trade of the Columbia district at £10 per annum. From 1828-30 he was a trapper with the Bonaventura (Sacramento) Valley expedition under A. R. McLeod, and afterwards he appears to have been a servant and storekeeper at Fort Vancouver. During part of the winter of 1838-39 he was occupied erecting buildings and making preparations to begin farming for the Company at the Cowlitz, and in the summer of 1839 he was attached to Michel Laframboises's Bonaventura trapping expedition, but he was obliged to return from Rogue River on account of illness. He retired about 1840 to near Champoege and, according to the register of St. Paul's Catholic Church, French Prairie, Oregon, he died on December 14, 1848, at the age of "about 38 years".

Montour, Nicholas

Nicholas Montour, a half-breed son of the North West Company partner of the same name, was a clerk in the service of that Company at Fort des Prairies in 1804-06, was an inmate of Fort Vermilion, Saskatchewan River, in the summer of 1810, and was in the Columbia with James McMillan during the following autumn. Montour was stationed amongst the Kootenay Indians during 1812 and, in May, 1813, he fought a duel at Spokane House with F. B. Pillet of the Pacific Fur Company "with pocket pistols, at six paces; both hits; one, in the collar of the coat, and the other in the leg of the trousers. Two of their men acted as seconds, and the tailor speedily healed their wounds". (Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River* (London, 1831), I, 201. Cf. also Coues, *New Light*, I, 443, and II, 757.) After the coalition of 1821 Montour served with the Hudson's Bay Company, and in 1822 he was listed as a clerk in the Saskatchewan district at £100 per annum, but was reported as being "Indolent, a good Trader, fond of Liquor, will be discharged 1823". In February, 1824, he joined Alexander Ross's Snake Country Expedition as a freeman and was placed in charge of the remainder of the Saskatchewan freemen in the party on account of his influence over them. The circumstances of Montour's desertion from P. S. Ogden's Snake Country Expedition in May, 1825, are referred to on p. 8, and in Appendix A, p. 297-8. Montour was listed as a Columbia freeman in 1827-28 and as a servant in the Columbia district during the outfits 1828-29 and 1829-30. On October 14, 1830, McLoughlin wrote to Francis Heron at Fort Colville (B. 223/b/6, fo. 19d.), "... you will bear in mind your people ought to be off for their winter ground about the 1st Novr. and if the Express is not in when you are ready to send I see no alternative but to engage Mr. Montour for the winter for which I presume fifty pounds will be sufficient as it is at the time of the year when he can do nothing." Montour was in charge of the Kootenay Post during the winter

of 1830-31 but his status after this date is rather uncertain. McLoughlin was not in favour of retaining his services. He was of the opinion that Montour was "even too indolent for the Kootenais", and did not think he could be employed after the end of outfit 1832-33. In 1834-35 he was associated with W. A. Ferris, and McLoughlin equipped them to trade with the American trappers at their rendezvous and with Indians beyond the reach of the Company's employees. Montour was answerable to the Company for the cost of their outfit, but the management of the party was vested in Ferris. The terms under which they were equipped also provided that all the skins they obtained by trade or otherwise were to be sold to the Company. Montour apparently had at least one more outfit on his own account. During 1840-41 he was listed as a Columbia freeman. Isabelle, his daughter by Susanne Umperville, was married to Thomas McKay at Fort Vancouver in 1838.

Pambrun, Pierre Chrysologue

Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun, son of André Dominique Pambrun, was born near Quebec on December 17, 1792. He served as a lieutenant in the Voltigeur Corps during the War of 1812, and entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as a clerk in April, 1815. He accompanied Colin Robertson to the Red River Settlement, and an account of his movements and arrest by the North West Company in May, 1816, will be found in *Narratives of John Pritchard, Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun and Frederick Damien Heurter Respecting the Aggressions of the North-West Company* (London, 1819), pp. 43-55. His evidence given at the trial of Paul Brown and François Firmin Boucher for the murder of Governor Robert Semple, held at York, Upper Canada, in October, 1818, is printed in A. Amos, *Report of Trials in the Courts of Canada* (London, 1820), pp. 70-81. Pambrun was in England in 1819 and returned to Rupert Land in 1820. He spent outfit 1820-21 as a clerk at Cumberland House, and during the following season he had charge of the fishing operations at Rock Depot, where thirty men and their families had been transferred owing to a shortage of provisions at York Factory. On July 21, 1822, he left York Factory as a member of the Bow River Expedition, and his duties consisted chiefly of superintending the men, over whom, according to Colin Robertson's Edmonton House report of 1822-23 (B. 60/e/5, fo. 5) he had "an excellent command". Robertson also added that Pambrun was "high spirited and ambitious" and "highly capable of conducting any enterprize where courage and perseverance is required". He was stationed on Smoky River during 1823-24, and in 1825 he was transferred to the New Caledonia district, where he served at and in charge of various posts, including that on Babine Lake (Fort Kilmaurs), until his appointment to the Columbia district in 1831. Governor Simpson described Pambrun in his Character Book of 1832 (A. 34/2, fo. 45) as "An active, steady dapper little fellow, is anxious to be useful but is wanting in judgement and deficient in Education:—full of 'pluck', has a very good opinion of himself and is quite a 'Petit Maitre'. Does not manage the business of his

Post well, owing more to a want of discretion & foresight than to indifference or inattention. . . ." He was clerk in charge of Walla Walla (Fort Nez Percés) at least as early as 1832, and he "acquired considerable influence" over the daring and warlike Indians of the neighbourhood. He was promoted to the rank of Chief Trader on November 27, 1839, and he retained the charge of Walla Walla until his death, the result of a fall from a horse, on May 15, 1841. He was buried at Fort Vancouver. The beneficiaries under his will, particulars of which are in A. 36/P and A. 44/3, were his wife Kitty, five sons and four daughters. One son, Pierre Chrysologue, was baptised on April 19, 1835, and another, Andrew Dominique, on April 13, 1838, at the Red River Settlement, where they had been sent to be educated.

Payette, François

François Payette, a Canadian, was born about 1794. His name was included on the roster of the North West Company's employees at Fort George (Astoria) on April 4, 1814, and he was with Donald McKenzie on Snake River in 1818. After the coalition of 1821 he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and continued to be stationed in the Columbia district. During 1830-31 he was a member of John Work's expedition to the Snake Country and references to him whilst on the Snake expedition of 1831-32 are in the *Journal of John Work* (eds. Lewis and Phillips). Payette was to have accompanied Work as assistant to the Bonaventura (Sacramento) Valley in 1832-33, but he fell a victim to intermittent fever and quite early in the journey he had to be left behind. McLoughlin wrote to Francis Heron at Fort Colville on February 2, 1833 (B. 223/b/8, fo. 46), "... you will engage Payette for three years at £100 pr. annum when he is sent Plains, but if in course of the year he makes no trip to the Plains he will have £75 and liable to be employed wherever his services may be required. If he objects to these terms you will engage him for one year at £100 pr. an." Governor Simpson reported to the Governor and Committee on June 10, 1835 (D. 4/102, fos. 26d.-27), that "The Coutanais have done very little during the past season, arising it is suspected in a great degree from the neglect and inactivity of Payette, the man in charge, who seems to have taken little or no pains to manage and keep them together, so that they have been wandering about and doing nothing. Payette was at one time a valuable man, being an excellent trapper, but his elevation from the rank of a common man to that of a Clerk, at a salary of £100 p. annum, has rendered him nearly useless, it is therefore intended that he shall be removed from the country next spring, of which he cannot complain, as he gave in his notice of retirement last year." He was apparently at the Snake Fort (Fort Boise) during the winter of 1835-36, and in spite of his previous notice of retirement and Simpson's remarks, McLoughlin re-engaged Payette and appears to have persuaded him to reconsider further notices of retirement given in 1839 and 1840. On receiving the last notice McLoughlin wrote to Francis Ermatinger on November 10, 1841 (B. 223/b/27, fo. 53), "I am happy to

embrace the opportunity to acknowledge that I have always found Mr. Payette a valuable servant". From 1836 until his retirement to Canada in 1844, Payette's service was spent in the Snake Country, and during most of this time he was in charge of Fort Boise. The town of Payette, Payette River and Payette Lake in Idaho, were named after him.

Pelly, George

George Pelly, fifth son of the Rev. John Pelly, rector of Weston-sub-Edge, Gloucestershire, was born April 8, 1791. He was a first cousin of John Henry Pelly (created a baronet in 1840) who was Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1822-52, and brother of Robert Parker Pelly, Governor of Assiniboia from 1823-25. George Pelly was at one time employed as a captain in the East Indian Civil Service, and on October 23, 1833, the Governor and Committee appointed him their agent in the Hawaiian Islands in succession to Richard Charlton, whose services were no longer desirable as he was engaged in the fur trade of the North West Coast and was consequently in opposition to the Company. Pelly's salary was fixed at the rate of £300 per annum and this amount was to cover all charges of commission, agency, etc. He sailed from London in December, 1833, in the brig *Eagle* and settled on Oahu Island. He was informed by Governor Simpson in a letter dated November 26, 1833 (A. 6/23, fos. 44d.-45), that his various duties included the superintendence of the Company's affairs in that quarter, "the finding an Outlet for, and effecting sales of Timber Salmon and other articles . . . [and] the providing freight to fill up the Companys Ships on their Return Voyages to England", and he was placed under the instructions of the Chief Factor in charge of the Columbia district. Pelly retained this position until early in 1851, when he retired from the Company's service and returned to England in the barque *Gowditz*. He died unmarried on November 30, 1866.

Rae, William Glen

William Glen Rae, a son of John Rae, the Hudson's Bay Company's agent at Stromness, Orkney, was born about 1809. He was engaged by the Governor and Committee as an apprentice clerk at £20 per annum in June, 1827, and sailed for Montreal in the same month. On his arrival at Lachine he was employed in the office "and made generally useful". During the season 1827-28 one of his eyes was injured by the discharge of a fowling piece and it became necessary for him to return to England for medical advice in the autumn of 1828. He sailed from York Factory in the Company's ship *Prince Rupert* and returned in the summer of 1829. He spent the winter of 1829-30 as a clerk in the Red River district, and one of his duties during the spring of 1830 was to take a census of the Settlement. He was again obliged to go to England in 1830, as his injured eye required further treatment if he wished to avoid losing the sight of it. On his arrival at York Factory in the autumn of 1831 he was appointed to Lac la Pluie, where he was stationed during the ensuing

winter. On May 10, 1832, his injured eye once more began to trouble him and he was incapacitated from duty of any kind. The treatment to alleviate the pain, according to J. D. Cameron's entries in the journal (B. 105/a/16), consisted chiefly of poultices to the eye and blisters to the temple and nape of the neck. By May 24 Rae was "reduced to a mere Skeleton", and a week later he left for Red River to obtain medical assistance. Governor Simpson's Character Book of 1832 (A. 34/2, fo. 46-46d.) contains the following report on Rae's character: "A very fine high spirited well conducted young man of tolerably good Education. Stout Strong and active, is quite a mechanical genius and can turn his hand to any thing. Has suffered much inconvenience of late from a cataract in one of his Eyes of which he has lost the Sight and the misfortune disqualifies him from constant Desk Work but he is well adapted for other Deptmts. of the business and promises fair to become a rising man in the Country." In 1830 the Council of the Northern department resolved that an experimental farm should be established at Red River "for the purposes of rearing sheep, and the preparation of Tallow, of wool . . . for the English Market" (see *H.B.S.*, III, 259, and A. S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71* (London, 1939, pp. 642-3), and in furtherance of this scheme Rae left the Settlement some time in the autumn of 1832 for the United States to purchase sheep. The party met with a series of misfortunes and on December 17, 1833, Alexander Christie reported to the Chief Factors and Chief Traders of the Northern department (D. 4/126, fos. 19d.-20) that "The party who were sent hence under the command of Mr. Wm. G. Rae, to the states for sheep, returned hither on the 13th Sepr. last with 250 Sheep, being the remnant of about 1200 with which they started from the state of Kentucky the rest having all perished en route from disease, fatigue, and the effects of travelling thro' that pernicious weed 'Wild Rye'. I cannot however, in justice to Mr. Rae omit saying that no blame whatever can possibly attach to him, as in the business throughout he displayed much good management, and the obstacles which the journey presented were such as no foresight could anticipate or prevent." Alexander Ross strongly criticised this expedition in *The Red River Settlement* (London, 1856), pp. 146-50. Cf. also G. P. de T. Glazebrook, *The Hargrave Correspondence 1821-1843* (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1938), pp. 119-121 and 132. Rae carried the 1833-34 winter express from Red River to Edmonton House, where he apparently remained until the autumn, when he left to take up a new appointment in the Columbia district. He arrived at Fort Vancouver on October 16, 1834, and in February, 1835, he left for Fort Colville, where he succeeded Francis Heron in charge. Rae appears to have spent the season 1835-36 partly at Fort Colville and partly at Fort Nez Percés (Walla Walla), where he was sent to assist P. C. Pambrun, whose Indians were troublesome. After superintending the building of a new fort in the Umpqua Country in the summer of 1836, Rae was appointed to the management of the Kootenay Post for the trading season 1836-37. In the summer of 1837 he acted as supercargo on board the *Cadboro* when on a trading voyage to San Francisco. On his return in November of that year he was appointed a clerk

at Fort Vancouver for the rest of the season 1837-38, and he apparently spent the two following outfits there also. When Stikine was acquired from the Russian American Company in June, 1840, Rae was placed in charge. He returned to Fort Vancouver in April, 1841, and in the next month he left for San Francisco, where he was placed in charge of the Company's business. In November, 1841, he was promoted to the rank of Chief Trader. The outcome of the San Francisco business and the circumstances of Rae's suicide there on January 19, 1845, will be considered in the second volume of McLoughlin's letters. Rae married Eloisa, second daughter of Dr. John McLoughlin, in 1838, and five years after Rae's death she married Daniel Harvey of Oregon.

Ryan, William

William Ryan entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in September, 1829, and was appointed in command of the brig *Isabella*, which had been purchased to replace the *William and Ann* lost earlier in the year. The *Isabella* sailed from Blackwall on October 30, 1829, and entered the Columbia River on May 2, 1830, but owing to Captain Ryan mistaking Chinook Point for Cape Disappointment the vessel was wrecked. Cf. pp. 83-5. Governor Simpson reported on Ryan in his Character Book of 1832 (A. 34/2, fo. 45d.) as follows: "An Englishman about 38 years of Age . . . Does not appear to be a man of much talent in his profession. Lost a Vessel at the Mouth of the Columbia on his first Voyage in the Service through want of Skill and of nerve and his Services since then have not been conspicuous for talent of any description. His private character I believe is tolerably good at least I have heard nothing to the contrary as yet." In 1835 McLoughlin considered Ryan "a good Sailor, a sober man, and careful of the vessel and property entrusted to his charge". Cf. p. 140. He returned to England in command of the *Ganymede* in 1831-32 and in August of that year received the usual gratuity of £50 for making a safe passage. On September 12, 1832, the Governor and Committee informed McLoughlin (A. 6/22, fo. 139) that "Altho' Mr. Ryan brought the *Ganymede* home safely and made an expeditious passage, we did not (in consequence of the loss of the *Isabella*) feel warranted in confirming him in the command of her, he now returns as chief officer under an engagement for three years, and should his conduct on the outward voyage and after his arrival in the Country be such as to entitle him to promotion, we shall feel disposed in the event of vacancies occurring to confirm such appointment as you may consider him entitled to." The *Ganymede* arrived in Columbia River in May, 1833, and Ryan was later appointed master of the *Cadboro*. He returned to England in the *Dryad* during 1835-36 and retired from the Company's service.

Scarborough, James Allan

James Allan Scarborough, who was described in his original contract of service as of Stratford, Co. Essex, was appointed second mate and boatswain of the *Isabella* in September, 1829. This ship was lost in the Columbia

River in May, 1830 (cf. pp. 83-5). Scarborough was employed continuously on the Pacific Coast until his retirement to Washington Territory, U.S.A., in July, 1850, being appointed at various times first mate of the *Lama* and *Beaver*, and master of the *Cadboro* and *Mary Dare*. On October 30, 1843, he married Ann Elizabeth, a Chinook Indian, at Fort Vancouver, and in the marriage record he was described as a Protestant, the elder son of James and Ann Scarborough of Ilford, Co. Essex, and his wife as a member of the Roman Catholic Church. He died intestate, a widower, on February 4, 1855, and was survived by two of his four sons, who were left in the care of James Birnie.

Swan, John Pearson

John Pearson Swan applied for employment with the Hudson's Bay Company early in June, 1824, and was appointed mate of the brig *William and Ann* at Eight Guineas per month on June 30. He served in this vessel on her voyage to and from Columbia River during 1824-26, and in September, 1826, he was appointed to the command of the schooner *Cadboro*. As this vessel had been acquired for service on the Pacific Coast and was to be at the disposal of Captain Æmilius Simpson, Swan was required to return from the Columbia as mate on board the *William and Ann*. This vessel arrived in England early in 1828, and on August 20 Swan was appointed to the command at Ten Guineas per month. The brig sailed from Plymouth for Columbia River on September 16, 1828. For an account of her wreck on March 10, 1829, and of the fate of Captain Swan see pp. 71-3. His widow, Elizabeth Swan, was granted a gratuity of £40 in December, 1829.

Work, John

John Work, son of Henry Work of Co. Donegall, Ireland, was born about 1792, and joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a writer in 1814. In his contract (A. 32/18) dated at Stromness on June 15, 1814, he was described as being five feet seven inches tall with fair hair and complexion. He served at York Factory during the season 1814-15 as steward, and in the following outfit he was transferred to Severn House and was listed as second trader. He was promoted district master in 1818-19 and his Severn journals are in the B. 198/a series. In Nicholas Garry's 1821 list of Hudson's Bay Company's employees Work was described as a "Most excellent young Man in Every Respect". After the coalition of 1821 Work ranked as a clerk and continued in charge of the Severn district during 1821-22. In 1822-23 he had charge of the Island Lake district with headquarters at Island Lake House, and his journal for that period is in B. 93/a/3. He left York Factory on July 18, 1823, in company with Peter Skene Ogden, for the Columbia district, and a copy of Work's journal of this trip is in the Public Archives of Canada. Both men wintered at Spokane House. Cf. Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, pp. 711-5. Governor Simpson met Work at the Forks of Spokane River on October 27, 1824, and arranged for him to return to Fort George "for the purpose of accompanying Mr. McMillan to Pugets Sound and Frazer's River". (Cf. Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 47 and 114-18.) Work's journal, from

November 18 to December 30, 1824, of this expedition is printed in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, III, 198-228. He was at Spokane House during part of the summer of 1825 and in the following November he went to the Flathead post, where he managed the trade until the end of February, 1826. On July 5, 1826, he left Fort Vancouver for the interior, and during the remainder of the summer he went on a horse trading expedition to the Nez Percés, and on an excursion to the Flathead and Kootenay posts. His journals for 1825 and 1826, which are in the Archives of British Columbia, have been edited by T. C. Elliott, and published in *Wash. Hist. Quar.*, V, 83-115, 163-91, 258-87 and VI, 26-49. During the winter of 1826-27 he was in charge of Fort Colville, and he was there when Edward Ermatinger passed with the York Factory express on April 11, 1828. Work's "Journal of a Trip from Fort Colville to Fort Vancouver and Return in 1828", edited by W. S. Lewis and J. A. Meyers, is printed in *Wash. Hist. Quar.*, XI, 104-14. Work was again in charge of Fort Colville in 1828-29 and he was a member of the party sent in June, 1829, to the Clatsops to demand the restitution of the property taken from the wreck of the *William and Ann* (cf. pp. 71-3). During the season 1829-30 he took over the charge of the Colville district, making his headquarters at the Flathead post. He took out the returns of trade to Fort Vancouver in the spring of 1830 (cf. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, X, 296-313). In the following August he was placed in charge of the Snake Country expedition, which consisted of 40 armed men, 29 women, 45 children, 272 horses and mules, and 337 traps. The expedition started from Fort Nez Percés in August, 1830, and returned in July of the following year, after having travelled about two thousand miles, in the course of which journey the party travelled up the Snake River and across country to the valley of the Great Salt Lake. The journals covering this expedition are in B. 202/a/9-10; extracts from these and other sources have been edited by T. C. Elliott, and are printed in *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XIII, 363-71; XIV, 280-314. On November 3, 1830, Work was appointed a Chief Trader. He left Fort Vancouver on August 18, 1831, on a trading and trapping expedition to the Flathead and Blackfoot Indians from which he returned on July 27, 1832. For his journal see Lewis and Phillips, *Journal of John Work*, and cf. p. 103, n. 1. According to a letter from Work to the Governor and Council of the Northern department, dated Fort Vancouver, March 14, 1834 (D. 4/126, fos. 69-70), he left Fort Nez Percés in the beginning of September, 1832, for the Bonaventura (Sacramento) Valley on a trapping excursion. The route he eventually followed was by way of Silvies River to Pit (Upper Sacramento) River, and up this to the head of the Sacramento Valley, where they arrived in the middle of November, 1832. Here they made canoes and continued hunting down the Sacramento. In December Work made contact with Michel Laframboise, who was hunting in the neighbourhood of the Bay of San Francisco. Prospects were now unfavourable in the Valley owing to Laframboises's efforts of the previous months and to the presence of an American party in the vicinity. Work therefore decided to explore the country along the coast between Bodega and McLeod's River (cf. p. 45, n. 1), and as the

Indians of that region were hostile, Work decided that Laframboise's party should unite with his own. Work's account states that they accordingly joined forces on January 18, 1833, and by the end of February they succeeded "in crossing the river . . . and proceeded on by the mission of St. Francisco Salona passed the Russian Establishment Ross at Bodega and continued on 120 miles along the coast to Cape Mendocina thro' a very rugged difficult country; but finding no beaver on the 13th May I left Michel and his party with directions to proceed on along the coast [cf. p. 112], and struck across the mountains with my party to the Bonaventura which I reached in the beginning of June, made canoes and continued trapping with but little success in the head of St. Francisco Bay until towards the end of July when we turned back from Smith's or Indian River on the S. branch." The last stage of the journey was through the Willamette Country, and Work arrived at Fort Vancouver on October 29, 1833, having found it no easy task to bring back "the despairing dispirited people" who, in addition to difficulties with hostile natives, had suffered greatly from intermittent fever. Work's total hunt amounted to 1023 beaver and otter skins, and the result disappointed even his by no means sanguine expectations. McLoughlin, however, in a letter to Simpson dated March 18, 1834 (D. 4/126, fo. 49-49d.), estimated their worth at £1,375, and added that the expedition had cleared £627 "which is very well when you consider the exhausted state of the country and the severe sickness with which he and his party were afflicted". In the summer of 1834 Work made a short trading excursion from Fort Vancouver to Umpqua River, and in December of that year he succeeded P. S. Ogden in the management of the coasting trade. He retained this position until the end of outfit 1848-49, and during the greater part of the time he made his headquarters at Fort Simpson. Early in 1846 he was made a Chief Factor. He was appointed one of the managers of the Columbia district in 1849, and in 1853 he was appointed to the Board of Management of the Western department. He became a member of the first Government and Legislative Council of Vancouver Island in 1857 and continued in office and also in the Company's service until his death, which occurred at his home, Hillside, Victoria, on December 22, 1861. He was buried in the Quadra Street Cemetery. His wife, Susette Legace, was a Spokane half-breed, and she, eight daughters, two sons and a nephew, were beneficiaries under his will. There are baptismal records for two additional daughters by "a native woman" in the Red River Register (E. 4/1, fo. 61d.) under date August 27, 1826, and in 1829 Work was making arrangements for a son, then at Red River Settlement, to be sent to join him. Governor Simpson reported on Work in the Character Book of 1832 (A. 34/2, fos. 18d.-19) as being "A very steady pains taking man, regular, economical and attentive in business, and bears a fair private character. Has been a useful man for many years and must always be so from his persevering steady and regular habits. A queer looking fellow, of Clownish Manners and address, indeed there is a good deal of simplicity approaching to idiocy in his appearance, he is nevertheless a Shrewd Sensible Man, and not deficient in firmness when necessary; was bred an operative Farmer."

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